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NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

THROUGH

SOME PARTS

OF THE

TURKISH EMPIRE.

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PREFACE.

THE countries of the East have been of late years so much visited, and so often described, that they are (or may be) sufficiently known; and a new publication on the subject may well be thought superfluous. But every one is willing to believe that he has some friends to whom his adventures and remarks may nevertheless be interesting:—for their perusal the present volume is intended, and they will I hope excuse its imperfections. Should they find it deficient in antiquarian or scientific research, they will recollect that the object of the traveller was simply to amuse himself, or at most, as Montaigne has it, "*pour frotter et limer sa cervelle contre celle d'altruy.*"

The following pages must submit to the fate of all works of the same class which are

long delayed. Scenes which they describe may have passed away, and events to which they allude may be forgotten; but they have been composed only during the intervals of leisure from various other occupations; and I felt no wish to hasten the completion of a task which recalled in its progress one of the happiest periods of my life.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

From Naples through La Puglia to Corfu ..... *page* 1

CHAPTER II.

Morea.—Athens.—Smyrna 23

CHAPTER III.

Asia Minor.—Constantinople 50

CHAPTER IV.

Constantinople 78

CHAPTER V.

Archipelago.—Alexandria.—Cairo 113

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage up the Nile 162

CHAPTER VII.

Nubia.—Philæ 193

CHAPTER VIII.

Nile.—Cairo.—Damietta 228

CHAPTER IX.

Palestine 262

CHAPTER X.

Jerash 317

CHAPTER XI.

Acre.—Dehr el Kamr.—Tripoli ..... *page* 347

CHAPTER XII.

Damascus 383

CHAPTER XIII.

Balbec.—Maloula 403

CHAPTER XIV.

Palmyra 419

CHAPTER XV.

Seida.—Tripoli.—Latakia 452

CHAPTER XVI.

Antioch.—Aleppo.—Latakia 474

CHAPTER XVII.

Cyprus.—Rhodes.—Smyrna 503

CHAPTER XVIII.

Archipelago.—Athens.—Zante 515

NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

THROUGH SOME PARTS OF

THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

FROM NAPLES THROUGH LA PUGLIA TO CORFU.

THOUGH the numerous bands of robbers which had for several years infested the provinces of La Puglia and Bari had been materially checked in the spring of 1818, yet it was still thought unsafe to travel through those countries without an escort. As we did not, however, wish to make this addition to our ordinary equipage, we determined to put ourselves under the care of the public courier, who goes periodically from Naples to Otranto, and accordingly engaged places in his capacious but uneasy vehicle. He assured us that guards would be in waiting at all the dangerous points on the road; and as a further precaution, we were not suffered to depart on our journey till the passengers had been assembled in a little chapel attached to the post-office, where a Capucin friar performed mass, and

put up prayers for our safe arrival. After this ceremony we set off at one o'clock in the morning of the 19th of July.

Traversing the vineyards and gardens of the Campagna Felice till we came to the little village of Cardinale, we there entered a defile in the mountains, and passed through some fine scenery to Avellino the capital of the Principato Citra. This is a considerable place, and when we arrived it presented a very gay appearance. It was Sunday, and a beautifully fresh summer's morning: the inhabitants were all out in their holiday clothes, and groups of peasantry were flocking from the neighbouring country distinguished by a most picturesque costume. The men had large white hats of the sugar-loaf shape, profusely ornamented with coloured ribbands; the women wore bright scarlet petticoats and green aprons, and their head-dresses were decorated with massive gold or silver ornaments.

Soon after leaving Avellino, the mountains opened into wide spreading downs, from which on the left we looked down on the city of Benevento, and on a range of broken hills, among whose intricacies the Furcæ Caudinæ are said to have been situated. A long ascent conducted us to Arriano, which has been conjectured to occupy the site of the town whose name baffled the poetic skill of Horace. We arrived there about six o'clock; and as it was not thought safe to continue our journey through the night, we were forced to put up with the miserable

accommodations which the only inn in the place could afford.

The next morning we set out at day-break, and descended into the pass of Bovino, a narrow valley forming the bed of the river Cervaro, which is here only a mountain torrent, dry in the summer months. It is bordered by low sandy cliffs, in some places covered with stunted underwood, in others broken into ravines and hollowed into caverns, which might almost seem to have been designed by nature for the retreat of banditti. This spot was indeed one of the favourite scenes of their operations; and we were forcibly reminded of them, when on turning the corner of a projecting rock, a number of human heads stuck upon poles, on each side of the road, suddenly presented themselves to our view. We counted sixteen of them as the carriage moved slowly along through the ghastly avenue; of several the features were scarcely obliterated, and most of them had the hair still sticking to the scalp. They were the heads of some of the companions of the brothers Varderelli, who after having been at one time the terror of the country as robbers, and at another employed by the Government as officers of police, had met their fate either by accident or design a few months before*.

* For some particulars of these men, of their connection with the government, and of the manner in which they perished, see "Craven's Journey in the Southern Provinces of Naples."

This gloomy defile ends at Ponte di Bovino, where we entered an immense plain, which extends almost without interruption to the Adriatic. On the right we saw some distant and scattered mountains, and on the left the view was bounded by a low ridge of hills, which runs eastward to the sea and terminates in the promontory of Monte Gargano, the spur (as it has been called) of Italy, at the foot of which Manfredonia is situated. The houses and villages on this plain are very thinly scattered; and hardly a tree is to be seen, the soil being very sandy and water scarce. It appeared however to be tolerably well cultivated. The harvest was nearly over, and the horses were already occupied in treading out the corn. We passed through Ordagna, where are some slight remains of a Roman town of the same name and several tumuli, and Cerignola, the ancient Ceraunilia, from whence we followed the course of the Ofanto (Ufens) to Barletta. This part of the journey is fertile in historical recollections. At Cerignola, Gonsalvo di Cordova gained that decisive victory over the troops of Louis XII. which secured the throne of Naples to Spain; and between that place and Barletta we observed on the right some rising ground, in the neighbourhood of which we may probably place the scene of the battle of Cannæ, though the precise spot in which that memorable action was fought, has not, I believe, been satisfactorily ascertained. Barletta is a good town, as are

also Trani, Bisceglia, Molfetta, and some others that succeed it. Their streets are open and airy, and they are surrounded by agreeable villas. All this line of country indeed, called the Marina di Bari, is well cultivated, and has a cheerful and ornamental appearance which we should scarcely expect to find on a remote and untravelled shore. Civilization with its attendant benefits seems more equally diffused than on the western side of the kingdom; and the peasants appear to be more industrious, more cleanly, better clad, and to speak in a purer dialect. The general character indeed of the inhabitants of these provinces must not be inferred from the system of terror and outrage which so long prevailed there, and by means of which, a comparatively small body contrived to overawe the majority of the people.

During the whole of our route, whenever the carriage stopped at any little town or village, it was presently surrounded by a crowd of persons of all classes, eagerly inquiring the result of the lottery which had been just drawn at Naples; the only public intelligence in which they were at all concerned, or perhaps which ever came correctly to their ears. So great was the interest which it excited, that the labourers would frequently leave their work in the distant fields, and come running and breathless to the road-side to learn the fortunate numbers. The schemes of the Italian lotteries indeed are adapted to the most limited fortunes, the public trea-

suries being generally in such a state that "the smallest donations are thankfully received*."

On arriving at Bari, we found ourselves too much fatigued to pursue our journey as we had intended with the courier, who proceeded almost immediately on horseback; and we therefore remained there the next day. Like most other seaports it is a very disagreeable place, the streets narrow, close and dirty; it probably occupies the site of the ancient Barium, but I could not find that it possessed any remains of Greek or Roman antiquity. In the middle ages it was a place of consequence, and one of its churches contains some curious sepulchral monuments of those times. It still carries on a trade in oil, which, judging from the number of the vessels in the mole, I should suppose to be flourishing.

After some deliberation whether we should go on to Otranto by sea or by land, we determined on the latter, and engaged one of the little open chaises known in Naples by the name of "Corricoli," which are drawn either by one or two horses, and accommodate, though very badly, two passengers, the driver sometimes running by their side, sometimes

* So much does this species of gambling occupy the minds of the Italians, that the names of some families have been changed in order to commemorate their success in it. Thus the Quintiliani of Rome, who were once the holders of the fortunate five numbers which ensure the capital prize, have since been called the Cavalieri del Cinque; and the name of Cardinal Quarantotti, once so well known in a neighbouring island, was derived from an ancestor who on some occasion had won forty-eight thousand crowns.

sitting at their feet, and occasionally standing up behind, and flourishing his whip over their heads.

In such a conveyance we set out from Bari at three o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of July. The road from Naples thus far, as several inscriptions testify, was either made or improved by Philip the Third of Spain. It was the intention of the French to have continued it along the coast to Otranto; but here, as elsewhere, their expulsion put a stop to improvement, and at about six miles from Bari their work ends, and is succeeded by one of the most wretched tracks,—for road it cannot be called,—which ever disgraced a civilized country. In the interior the sand rose to the axletree; and on the shore the rock either remained in all its native ruggedness, or was worn into holes and ruts, which from their size and depth might be supposed almost coëval with the invention of wheel-carriages, while our rough and jolting vehicle might evidently be referred to a period when the art of constructing them was in its infancy.

After quitting the suburbs and gardens of Bari we traversed a scattered forest of wild fig-trees, passed through the pleasant little town of Mola, and then entered extensive olive-grounds continuing to Polignano and Monopoli, at the latter of which we halted in the middle of the day. It is a place of small extent, but very closely built, possessing several good-looking churches and a very pleasant suburb,—an addition common to almost all the

towns on this coast, and which contributes materially to the cheerful appearance which I have already mentioned. On leaving Monopoli, a range of hills began to show itself on our right, stretching to the south and bounding an extensive plain covered with olive-trees and studded with white villages and cassinos. Our road now ran close to the sea, whose shores in this part are rocky and indented. There are a number of cottages at intervals along the beach; some of them the quarters of the "gens d'armes" and "douaniers," others bathing-houses, or villas belonging to the inhabitants of the towns in the interior. At one of these, called Furticella, the lower story is used as an inn; and here we were indifferently accommodated for the night, our slumbers being disturbed by the noisy jollity of some officers of the Neapolitan preventive service, who had come down to observe the movements of a suspicious sail which had appeared in the offing.

We left these watchful guardians deeply engaged at cards about three o'clock in the morning, and continued our route near the shore, leaving Ostuni, a very conspicuous town on a high hill, on our right. As we advanced, the heights gradually subsided into a wide sandy plain, wholly uncultivated, and overgrown with arbutus, lentisk, and a variety of other evergreen shrubs. We now struck into the interior, and halted at the village of Misagna. From thence we passed through thick olive-groves to Squinzano, —a miserable place, where we were lodged in an out-

house; and the next morning early we reached Lecce, the capital of the province.

At Lecce the fatigues of our journey ended, and we were compensated by the hospitality of our countryman General Church, the commanding officer and governor of the province, to whom we had brought letters of recommendation from Naples. He assigned us very comfortable lodgings at the house of an officer, and gave us a general invitation to his head-quarters, where we had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the principal persons of the town and neighbourhood, and of hearing many particulars of the disturbances which had lately agitated the country.

The Apulian provinces, which under the more vigorous government of the French had with difficulty been kept in subjection, on the return of the Bourbon dynasty fell into a state of disorder little short of open rebellion. In addition to the grand society of Carbonari, which was diffused over the whole kingdom, and as to whose real designs much uncertainty seems still to prevail, others of a less doubtful nature were organized in these provinces under the various names of Patrioti, Philadelphi, and Decisi. Of these the professed objects were all nearly the same; though the last, as its name implies, was more bold in the avowal of them, and comprehended in its ranks all the most desperate characters in the country. Its members were initiated with various frightful ceremonies, and were

bound together by the strongest oaths. Their commissions or certificates of admission to the Society, one of which was shown to me, were ornamented with representations of skulls and cross bones, and the more important passages were written in blood. Their principal badges were a black flag and a dagger; and the meaning of these emblems, in itself obvious enough, was further explained in a sort of creed or catechism which was placed in the hands of the initiated. The professed objects of the society were benevolent and philanthropic; but under the specious pretext of "War to the Palace and Peace to the Cottage," they spread terror, rapine, and assassination among all classes of the community. The members were regularly organized in greater and smaller divisions, called camps and sections; and they met openly for training and exercise, even at the gates of the great towns. Lecce alone could muster several hundred; and it was calculated that the whole number enrolled in the two provinces amounted to from thirty to forty thousand armed men.

The Government, alarmed at these formidable combinations, determined on appointing to the command of the district Lieut.-Colonel Church, whose energetic character had been displayed in raising and disciplining a Greek corps in the English service: and in the autumn of 1817 he repaired to his post, with about fifteen hundred Neapolitan troops, and four or five hundred Albanians, who were glad to rejoin the standard of their old commander.

The malcontents seem to have been overawed by this imposing force; and after a smart action at Marsano, in which a large party of them was defeated, no serious resistance was offered, except by a small corps headed by the priest Ciro Anichiarico, a man whose courage and enterprise might have qualified him to shine in a more honourable situation. He belonged to a family of respectability in one of the provinces, and had risen to some rank in his order; but being disappointed in his hopes of further preferment, and thinking that his pretensions were unjustly neglected, he changed his pursuits and became one of the most daring leaders of the bands of the Decisi. The acts of atrocity which had been committed by himself and his followers leaving him no hope of pardon, he boldly took the field at the head of about 150 men, and having the advantage of a perfect knowledge of the country, sustained himself for several days against the very superior force which was brought against him. He probably expected to be relieved from pursuit by a general insurrection of his associates; but finding that this did not take place, and that his followers were gradually dropping off and seeking safety in flight, he formed the resolution of shutting himself up with six or seven of the most desperate in a solitary "masseria," or farm-house, near Grotaglia. In a country so subject to the attacks of banditti, these are generally places of strength; and he was able to defend himself against the troops for three days. During this time

he kept up a brisk fire of musquetry, and killed several of the assailants, till at length his ammunition being exhausted, and his little garrison suffering severely from want of water, he was forced to surrender. He was immediately tried by a court-martial, and met his fate with perfect unconcern. An officer who told me the story, asking him just before his death in how many assassinations he had been implicated, he coolly replied that he could not recollect the exact number, but that he had committed sixty or seventy with his own hand.

A military commission was still sitting at Lecce, for the trial of those who had been concerned in the late outrages, or who were members of the obnoxious associations. The president was a colonel of the provincial militia; and as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the proceedings were conducted with coolness and impartiality. Many of the accused were connected with respectable families in the provinces, and their fate of course excited considerable interest, though this was in a great degree lost in the general feeling of satisfaction which pervaded all ranks of the community at being freed from the thraldom of the Decisi. The sentences of the court-martial were all referred to the commander-in-chief of the district, who, being armed with the *Alterego* or full delegation of the royal authority, had the power of enforcing them without appeal. About eighty persons in all paid the forfeit of their lives: but of these it was satis-

factory to learn that not one suffered for political offences only,—all having been found guilty of assassination, or of some other crime equally deserving capital punishment. The good-will which the general seemed to have universally conciliated, even in the execution of so unpleasing a duty, was a sufficient proof that his power had not been exercised with undue severity.

Lecce is supposed to have risen on the ruins of two adjoining ancient towns, Lupia and Rhudia, and to have derived its name from Lycia, the Greek appellation of the former. It is badly situated in a barren sandy plain, but is one of the best built towns in the kingdom. Its population is estimated at 14,000; a number not at all proportionate to its extent, when compared with other Neapolitan cities. It has several churches, which might be called handsome were it not for the load of fantastic architectural ornament with which they are overwhelmed. Within and without the walls there were once thirty-five large and well-endowed convents, but almost all of these were suppressed during the frequent revolutions of the last twenty years. The buildings have been appropriated to secular purposes: neither does it appear probable that they will ever be restored to their original destination. A modern military government is little disposed to favour ecclesiastical pretension; and the active part which many of the inferior clergy had taken in the late disturbances, did not much contribute to raise the order in general in the public estimation.

Lecce cannot boast of a very splendid theatre, neither were the performances while we were there particularly attractive. I was more pleased to be present at one of the weekly "Sociétés," or evening parties, which the general was in the habit of giving at his quarters. The rooms were filled with countesses, marchionesses, and duchesses, who proverbially abound in the southern provinces of Naples: but notwithstanding the high rank of the company, there was not the least appearance of ceremony; and the evening passed cheerfully in conversation and dancing. The latter seemed a favourite amusement; and in spite of the extreme heat of the weather, was kept up with the greatest alacrity.

We remained five days at Lecce, and would willingly have prolonged our stay, had not the expected return of the packet from Corfu rendered it prudent for us to repair to the coast. We therefore took leave of our friends on the 29th of July, and proceeded in a "corricolo" escorted by two dragoons to Otranto. The distance is about sixteen miles, and we passed through several villages in our way. Most of these were founded, or had been occupied, by Albanian emigrants, who at different periods of history passed over to the Italian coast; and the Romaic is pretty generally spoken by the lower classes of the inhabitants.

We reached Otranto early in the day. It is pleasantly situated at the outward angle of a small bay; but it is a very insignificant place, little more in-

deed than a collection of cottages. We were provided with an order for quarters, and the officer on duty billeted us on a certain Canonico Ripeto, who did not obey the summons with the best possible grace. We were lodged at the top of the house, in a miserable garret full of lumber and vermin of every description; and the short time we had to stay at Otranto would have passed very disagreeably, had we not been furnished with a letter of introduction to Don Salcedo, the principal proprietor, or squire of the place, whom we found an exceedingly polite and intelligent man. His house was not large enough to lodge strangers, but he invited us to his table; and we found there a very cheerful party, consisting of his son and daughter, his brother an abbé, and some other clergymen.

On the following morning the telegraph announced to us that the packet was in sight; but as the wind did not permit its entering the port, we repaired towards evening to a little cove called Batisco, about four miles to the south. In consequence of there being on board the packet some Albanian soldiers, whom it was necessary to remove in boats to the lazaretto, we were detained till near midnight, and lost the opportunity of a favourable breeze, which would have carried us before morning to the opposite shore. As it was, we made but little progress during the night, and remained becalmed for the greater part of the next day off Fano. This and the adjacent island of Merlera contain,

we were told, from 1500 to 2000 inhabitants, who cultivate also Matraki, an uninhabited rock at a small distance. The produce is chiefly oil, though there are a few vines on the declivities towards the shore.

By the assistance of our oars and of a slight breeze which sprung up towards evening, we approached the low white cliffs on the north-western side of Corfu, and arrived off Cape Bianco, its northern extremity, just as the last rays of the sun were reflected from the lofty ridge of the Acroceraunian Mountains, which stretched out majestically on our left. During the night we weathered this point and got into the channel between the island and the mainland; but the winds continuing light and variable, we did not reach the town of Corfu till late in the day, and after about forty hours from the time we embarked. The latter part of our voyage, however, was delightful. We sailed slowly along the channel, which in some places is not wider than a broad river, with the rocky mountains of Albania on one side of us, and the woody hills of Corfu on the other, till at last we became completely landlocked, and the town with its lofty castles burst upon us as if rising from the shore of an immense lake.

Corfu is built on a neck of land which runs out into the sea, and forms the southern boundary of a wide and deep bay. At its extremity are two steep rocks occupied by a fortress, called the Castello

Vecchio, immediately below which on the land side are the Government-house, the arsenal, and other public buildings, protected by strong works. Beyond these is the Esplanade, a large space extending across the isthmus, at one end open to the sea, and at the other occupied by a handsome new building, intended to comprise a residence for the lord high commissioner, together with the chambers of the deputies, the tribunals, and other public offices. Within the esplanade the town is situated, and is again protected towards the interior by very extensive works and another fortified rock called Castello Nuovo. The French, whose intention seems to have been to make Corfu a great and impregnable depôt, from which at some future period they might penetrate into Greece, had begun some important additions to the old Venetian fortifications, which were considered to be already among the strongest in Europe. The little island of Vido, which is exactly in front of the town, was stripped of the peaceful olive-trees which had covered it for ages, and their place was supplied by intrenchments and batteries, and on the land side they had begun to dig a fossé and to construct lines which would have included all the commanding points in the vicinity of the town, and might if necessary have cut off all communication with the rest of the island. These gigantic schemes, however, were entirely laid aside by the English, the old fortifications probably requiring for their defence a garrison five times as

numerous as the force which they maintain in all the Seven Islands.

The interior of the town does not at all correspond with its advantageous situation. The streets are narrow and ill-paved. The public buildings, with the exception of the new palace, mean; and the private houses very small, and of such slight construction that the heat in summer is almost insupportable; while the inhabitants, like those of other fortified towns, have a long and tedious progress to make through arches, covered ways and fossés, before they can get out into a purer air.

Both on this occasion and on a subsequent visit which I paid to Corfu on my return from Greece, the extreme heat of the weather and other circumstances prevented me from exploring the interior of the island, as I very much wished to have done. It is proclaimed on all hands to be rich in natural beauties; and indeed some of the finest views and scenery that I ever saw, are to be found within half an hour's ride of the walls.

In the northern and western districts the mountains are said to be lofty and precipitous, interspersed with sequestered and romantic glens and valleys. Towards the south they sink gradually into gentle slopes covered with vine and olive-trees. Oil is the chief article of produce, the wine being very indifferent, owing probably to the want of care and skill in the manufacture. The properties in the island are small, and the proprietors, most of whom

style themselves noble, are, generally speaking, very poor. The consequent want of capital prevents any improvements in cultivation; and the population of the island is estimated only at forty thousand, eight or ten of which are contained in the city, whereas under a better system it might be capable of maintaining two or three times that number.

The society of Corfu is extremely limited. The old nobility have been impoverished by the frequent revolutions which the islands have for the last twenty years experienced. Some have gone to seek service in foreign countries; and the hospitality of those who remain at home, shows itself only in an occasional splendid entertainment, after which they relapse into the most private and parsimonious mode of life. Occasional "Sociétés" are held at the Government-house, and are frequented by the principal inhabitants, and by a few English civilians and officers of the garrison; but they are, to a stranger at least, exceedingly dull, the greater part of the company being seated round a large table playing at the favourite but most insipid game of "trianda-mia" or one-and-thirty, a sort of long vingt-un. The intercourse indeed between the English and the natives is exceedingly limited, owing perhaps in part to that feeling of contempt for all foreigners, which forms a distinguishing feature in our national character, and which is peculiarly annoying to the vanity of the Greek.

It has been observed, that the colonies and de-

pendencies of free states are generally more harshly governed than those of despotic countries; and it may be true perhaps of nations as well as of individuals, that those most jealous of their own liberties and privileges are frequently the least tender of the rights of others. I do not think, however, that this remark can be fairly illustrated by a reference to the conduct of the English authorities in the Seven Islands; for without supposing their administration to have been essentially oppressive or corrupt, sufficient causes may be found, in the "res dura et regni novitas," for the unpopularity, to use the mildest term, which at one period it certainly laboured under.

The people of the Islands are a quick, clever, and artful race. They have much national vanity,—one foundation perhaps of national as well as of individual excellence*; but which makes them of course jealous of foreign influence, and not very well pleased to see Englishmen filling almost all the offices of trust in the state. Yet when we consider the demoralization which must have been produced by the tyrannical and venal government of the Venetians, and which was not likely to be checked or diminished under French or Russian protection, we must admit the propriety of having placed every department, and more particularly every one connected with the revenue, under a strict and vigilant super-

* "La vertu n'iroit pas si loin, si la vanité ne lui tenoit compagnie."—*Rochefoucault.*

intendence. It seemed highly necessary also to abridge the feudal privileges of the nobility, and that licence of crime which even at a late period of the Venetian government existed to such a height, that a Corfiot noble was always surrounded by a set of bravos ready at his nod to commit any atrocity. The resumption too of the Church property excited of course great clamour among those who were interested in retaining it; but on the other hand, the religious customs of the people were treated with a degree of respect which, however commendable, would scarcely be tolerated nearer home, and the pious Greek might be edified by the sight of a British garrison drawn out under arms to salute the bones of St. Spiridion*.

That the prosperity of the Islands has increased since they have been under British protection cannot, I think, for a moment be doubted; and the improvements that had taken place even during the three years which intervened between my first and second visit, were such as must force themselves upon the attention of the most cursory observer. In 1818 the most ordinary articles of foreign manufacture were scarcely to be procured, and from the total want of inns, a stranger who did not happen to have an introduction to some member of the Government or some officer of the garrison, might run a very fair chance of passing

* St. Spiridion is the patron saint of Corfu, and his bones are periodically carried about in grand procession.

the night of his arrival "*à la belle etoile.*" In 1822 there were several well supplied shops; a large hotel had been opened in a fine situation on the Esplanade: a new palace had arisen, built by native workmen, and ornamented with sculptures and bas-reliefs by a native artist*. An university had been founded; and what was perhaps scarcely less important, the Government was beginning to turn its attention to the state of the roads, and the establishment of communications with the interior. That some abuses prevailed can scarcely be doubted, but they were not likely to come under the notice of a passing stranger; and the great attention and hospitality which, in common I believe with every other respectable traveller, I received from the English authorities, might have propitiated a much more strenuous reformer than I profess to be.

* Paulo Corcyrota, a pupil of Canova.

CHAPTER II.

MOREA.—ATHENS.—SMYRNA.

It was our intention to have proceeded to Athens through Albania, Thessaly and Bœotia; but the extreme heat of the weather induced us to prefer the more direct course by Patras and the gulf of Corinth. I did not at the time much regret this alteration in our plan, because I then thought that I should have a future opportunity of visiting those provinces. But delays of this kind are dangerous in countries so liable to political changes. When I was again in Greece three years afterwards, the destruction of Ali Pasha's power had put a stop to all the facilities which that extraordinary man had afforded to Europeans travelling through his territories, and had in great degree diminished the interest of a tour of which himself and his court were among the most remarkable objects; and the subsequent revolution has closed these countries for an indefinite period against all pacific travellers.

In the afternoon of the 5th of August we sailed on board a Greek brig bound for Patras, and during the remainder of the day coasted the south-eastern quarter of Corfu, which, though less mountainous and romantic than the northern division, is rich and well cultivated; its woods, slopes, and

white farms, forming a pleasing contrast with the barren rocks and scattered villages of the Albanian coast, which the setting sun tinged with a deep purple hue. The next morning we were off Paxos, and the winds continuing very light throughout the day, we had leisure to contemplate the shores of Actium, and to indulge if we chose in sentimental reflection as we sailed under the rock of Leucadea. This celebrated promontory forms the southern extremity of the island of Santa Maura, and terminates in an abrupt cliff well suited to be "the last resort of fruitless love."

During the night we passed through the channel which separates Santa Maura from Ithaca, and the morning presented to us a magnificent view of sea, mountains, and islands. Cephalonia rose boldly on our right, with Zante and Cape Chiarenza in the distance. In front we saw the summits of Mænalus and Taygetus towering above the rest of the Morea; and on our left were the high and broken ridges of Acarnania and Ætolia, with the long range of promontories, shoals, and small islands which skirt the coast of western Greece. Among these Messalonghi is placed, near the entrance of the gulf of Patras. It was not seen from any part of our course; and though the situation was pointed out to us by the sailors, an obscure sea-port did not excite much attention. Its name was not yet connected with the fate of that distinguished person who was among the first to set us the example of visiting these

classic regions, and whose genius has thrown over them a fresh enchantment.

Every man will feel a little forlorn and solitary, when for the first time in his life he lands on the Turkish shores, when "he bids to Christian tongues a long adieu," and finds himself among a people whom he has been used to consider as almost savage. But his curiosity at the same time cannot fail to be highly gratified by the perfect novelty of the scene around him. The points of difference between other European nations bear no proportion to those in which they resemble each other; but here, a person coming from the nearest port seems to be entering a new world, and finds a total and striking change in the face of the country, the style of the buildings, and the dress, manner, and general appearance of the inhabitants. An accidental circumstance too which occurred just as we arrived at Patras, served to remind us that we were no longer in a civilized country. An affray had taken place between the towns-people and the soldiers of the Bouluk-Bashi or governor. Several persons had been killed; others were seen wandering about as if attempting to hide themselves in the gardens which surround the town: straggling shots were heard in all directions; and we were not sorry to find ourselves safely lodged in the house of the English consul. It ought to be mentioned however, as some compensation, that we were free from all those vexatious custom-house re-

searches which in other countries await the tired and exhausted passenger at the end of his voyage.

The next day, August 8th, was employed in viewing the little that there is worthy of notice at Patras. The town is situated on a slope at the foot of Mount Voithiá, the ancient Panachaicon, which shelters it on the eastern side. The castle, an old Venetian fortress to which events have since attracted the public attention, is at some distance, and higher up the mountain. Its defences consist only of a low wall flanked with towers, and it is commanded from several adjacent heights. Its long resistance therefore, can be attributed only to the very slender means of attack which the assailants were able to bring against it. A few capitals and other remains of antiquity are worked into the walls. On the beach, and at no great distance from the sea, is the church of St. Andrew, now in ruins; and a well close by, serves to identify the spot as the site of an oracular temple of Ceres mentioned by Pausanias; the religious veneration of the inhabitants in this, as in many other instances, having been transferred from a goddess to a saint.

The winds had favoured us so much in our last voyage, that we were encouraged to trust ourselves to them once more; and on the 9th of August about noon, we embarked on board a small boat which we engaged to carry us up the Gulf to Corinth. The breeze was light but fair, and the sailors told us

that it would no doubt freshen in the evening, and that instead of three long and fatiguing days journey by land, we should reach our place of destination on the following morning. As they predicted the wind certainly freshened, but at the same time it changed, and on our approaching the Straits we had the mortification to see several vessels coming out of the Gulf with a fine breeze and a strong current in their favour; while we were obliged to anchor under the Castle of the Morea, about eight miles from Patras. This large fortress, which like its neighbour on the opposite shore was formidable and important during the wars of the Venetians and the Turks, has now become dilapidated and almost dismantled, but it has still a garrison.

The wind relaxing a little at sun-set, we succeeded in passing the Straits, and came to an anchor under the point of Drepano. The next morning however it still continued to blow down the Gulf, and we stood across to Lepanto. That town is situated at the foot and on the side of a conical hill, and a wall flanked with square towers connects it with a ruinous Venetian castle which crowns the summit. We remained at anchor close to the shore during the greater part of the day, and towards the evening landed, and dined under a shady plane-tree, whose roots were washed by a beautifully clear stream. We then again set sail, hoping that with the assistance of the land-breeze which generally springs up at sun-set we might have made some progress; but

we were once more disappointed; the wind still blew from the eastward, and when we asked our captain whether we could expect to reach Corinth while it continued in that quarter, he answered with much gravity, "Αν θελ' ο Θεος," "If God pleases." After this reply, so much more devout than satisfactory, we determined to put back; a few hours were sufficient to undo what it had taken us two days to perform; and in the morning of the 11th of August we relanded at the quay of Patras.

Grown wiser by experience we now determined to proceed on our journey by land; and having hired horses and made the necessary preparations, we set out the next day before sun-rise in the following order of march. A Janissary dressed in a very gay Albanian costume led the way, and a little behind him rode the Suredjee or courier; we followed at some distance, and after us came four baggage-horses, with several attendants on foot. Two tall fierce-looking Candiote sailors with long guns on their shoulders who were going to Corinth, obtained permission to join our party; and the procession was closed by a sumpter-horse laden with provisions and kitchen utensils, on the top of which was perched our fat Italian servant.

The road led us at some distance from the sea along a narrow plain, bounded on the right by the declivities of Mount Voithiá. The first part of the way was through currant-grounds, and the vintage being at its height, the appearance of the country

was very cheerful. The peasants were all at work, and we continually saw large quantities of the fruit spread out on the ground to dry, and when seen from a distance looking like purple patches in the landscape. The currant of Zante and of the Morea has no resemblance to the fruit which bears the same name in our gardens, and is nothing more than a small black grape of a luscious and almost sickly flavour. It grows in small bunches upon dwarf vines, which are not supported by any props, but permitted to trail along the ground.

As we advanced we found the plain less cultivated, and frequently intersected by wide channels worn by the mountain torrents, and dry at this season of the year. The vines now disappeared; but their place was supplied by a profusion of shrubs and evergreens; cypress, lignum vitæ, myrtle, arbutus, lentisk, besides many others with which we were unacquainted, were grouped together in all the natural wildness of a forest; and oleanders of a size and luxuriance unknown in northern climates, and now in full bloom, sprung up in the beds of the rivulets and from among the shingles on the sea beach. The rocks on our right in some places approached very near to the shore; and as the road wound round their projecting masses, a fresh landscape continually presented itself.

After about six hours ride through this beautiful scenery, we reached the khan of Lampiri, which stands on the shore of a small cove, and halted

there during the extreme heat of the day. A Khan or inn in the Morea is a quadrangular walled inclosure. Two sides are occupied by low huts, comprising the kitchen, the henroost, and the stable; and in one corner is a higher square building, the upper story of which is accessible by stone steps on the outside, and is appropriated to the accommodation of travellers—if that word can be applied to a room without a single article of furniture. In another corner there is sometimes a high chiosk or observatory, raised upon four poles and covered with thatch, where the khangi or innkeeper smokes his pipe, and looks out for the approaching traveller, though he does not always condescend to leave his seat in order to welcome him on his arrival: that office is left to an inferior attendant, who proceeds to sweep out the chamber and spread some dirty mats on the floor. Fowls, eggs, rice, fire and water, are the only things that can be procured; and those who wish for luxuries, will be wise to come provided with them. In fine weather however, a khan is preferable to an inhabited house in a town or village, as it is generally more free from dirt, and from certain inmates which are extremely annoying to an unpractised traveller.

From Lampiri to Vostitza is a less picturesque ride than the last stage. The road runs along the beach, and the mountains on the right are screened by cliffs of no great height. Vostitza stands on the site of the ancient Ægium, one of the most con-

siderable places in Achaia. A large fountain which identified its situation was choked up by an earthquake, which had ravaged the country about a year before, and had totally changed the appearance of the shore and destroyed great part of the modern town. It spared however a magnificent plane-tree which stands on the beach, and is celebrated through all this part of the country for its extraordinary size. We had not an opportunity of measuring it; but according to Sir William Gell its trunk is sixty-eight feet in circumference, and its branches extend sixty feet on each side.

Our horses were by this time so much fatigued that it was necessary to change them; and after enduring for about two hours the delay of a Turkish post-house, we were provided with others, and set out again on our journey by moonlight. We travelled for some distance through a thick wood of oaks and evergreens, and afterwards came to some marshy ground intersected by a deep rivulet. Here we wandered about for a long time seeking in vain for a passage, till our guides at length confessed that in attempting a shorter road they had completely lost their way, and could be of no further use to us. We therefore spread our mattresses and bivouacked for the night under an olive-tree.

Early in the morning some peasants directed us into the road, and in about three hours we reached the deserted khan at Acrata, where we rested till evening; when we resumed our journey through

scenery of the same picturesque character, but varied by frequent chasms in the rocks and passes among the mountains, which opened views on our right into the interior. On the left the gulf of Corinth lay at our feet; beyond it the mountains of Ætolia and Phocis stretched along in an uninterrupted range, crowned by the double summit of Parnassus, and terminated by the promontory of Geranion, which runs out boldly into the sea at the upper end of the Gulf. We now left the mountains further to our right; and the khan of Kamares, where we halted, stands on the edge of an extensive plain. Our approach to it was guided by some immense firs on the declivity of the hills. It seemed at a distance as if the forests which clothed them were all in flames, and the effect was extremely striking amid the calm of a cloudless night. It is a frequent practice in Greece and Asia Minor to set fire to the woods; the fine oak timber whose wanton destruction we might otherwise deplore, is but of little value from the want of all means of conveyance, and the ashes are supposed to manure the ground and improve the pasturage.

On leaving Kamares the next morning, we caught a distant view of the citadel of Corinth, and soon afterwards arrived in the plain which stretches out to the west and south-west of that city. A little to the right of our road we saw Basilicó, the ancient Sicyon, situated on a rocky eminence at about an hour's journey from the sea. Of the walls which

are supposed to be of high antiquity, very few traces remain. There is a small Greek theatre and stadium, and several fragments of Roman architecture are scattered around.

We reached Corinth in the evening, and daylight just served us to take a rapid view of the only considerable relic of antiquity which it now possesses, consisting of seven columns of the Doric order, which formed part of the peristyle of a building, supposed by some to be the Sisyphéum, and by others the temple of Diana. They are of porous stone, and were originally encrusted with a red cement, some traces of which still remain. When Chandler visited Corinth, and even down to a much later period, eleven of them were still standing, but the Turkish proprietor took down four, to employ the materials in rebuilding his house. Their proportions, which differ from the other specimens of the order now existing in Greece, and approach nearer to those of Pæstum, are supposed to indicate a very early period of Doric architecture.

The situation of the "bimaris Corinthus" is well known. From the lofty detached rock on which the Acropolis is placed, the ground slopes gradually westward to the shores of the Gulf, where was situated the port of Lechæum, the position of which is now distinguished by a few fishing-huts. On the eastern side of the Isthmus, at the head of the Saronic gulf, was Cenchrea, which may be recognized in the modern name of Kenchres. The vicinity of

these two ports made the transit of merchandize extremely easy, and Corinth would naturally be the centre of communication between eastern and western Greece. It has frequently been proposed to cut through the Isthmus, and the Venetians had actually begun to put this project into execution. Their works are still to be traced; but they were suspended in consequence of the representations of one of their generals, who declared that the completion of them would exhaust the whole wealth of the republic. To a modern engineer the task would probably appear much less formidable.

The governor of Corinth at this time was Chamil Bay, one of those large proprietors who still retained a sort of hereditary jurisdiction in the Turkish empire, and who exercised his power with justice and moderation. His person and family were respected when the Turks were afterwards driven out of the Morea, and he was safely conveyed to Asia in an English man-of-war.

No person was permitted at this time to pass the Isthmus without an order from the Pasha of the Morea, who resided at Tripolitza. We were not provided with this necessary document; and not being disposed to wait for it, determined to proceed by sea to Athens. After resting therefore for two or three hours at the house of Doctor Andrea Simonetti, an old Italian physician, we set out again by moonlight; and traversing a part of the flat surface of the Isthmus in a north-eastern direction,

descended into a shrubby glen, which brought us to the sequestered little bay and port of Kenchres, where we found a party of English travellers wrapped up in their cloaks and sleeping on the beach.

As we were impatient to reach Athens, we did not disturb their repose, but immediately engaged a boat and sailed about midnight. The moon shone brightly, and the winds were as favourable as we could desire. At sun-rise we were off Salamis, and after an hour or two of calm, the breeze again sprung up and carried us gently along its bushy shores. The gulf of Ægina has not so grand a character as that of Corinth, the mountains of Attica not being so bold nor so lofty as those of Phocis; and it was not till we nearly approached the coast that we began to distinguish the graceful outlines of Pentelicus and Hymettus. The Acropolis next presented itself, with the pointed summit of Anchesmus on one side, and the hill of the Museum on the other; and while our attention was fixed on these interesting objects our bark glided gently into the Piræus.

The city of Athens is about five miles from the harbour, and the approach to it is through a large forest of olive-trees, as venerable from their age as they are picturesque from their size and form. Through them we caught occasional views of the western front of the Parthenon, which is but little dilapidated; and as the more ruinous parts of the building together with the whole of the modern town were completely screened from view, there

was nothing to prevent the imagination from bounding over intermediate ages, and transporting itself uninterruptedly to the days of Pericles.

At about half a mile from the town the road emerges from the olive-grove, and the temple of Theseus presents itself. We rode round the foot of the gentle eminence on which that beautiful and almost perfect monument is placed, and soon afterwards entered the town by the north-eastern gate, and halted at the house of M. Logotheti, the English consul. That gentleman received us with great politeness, and procured us a lodging at the house of a Greek named Demetrius Zographós, who had formerly been in Lord Byron's service, and who since distinguished himself as a captain in the war of independence. His mind seemed indeed to be already awakened to the ancient glories of his country: the walls of his very humble mansion were studded with mutilated inscriptions; fragments of statues, friezes and capitals, lay in the court, and his four squalling children bore the names of Themistocles, Alcibiades, Pericles, and Aspasia.

As it was my good fortune at a later period of my tour to make a long stay at Athens, I will reserve for a future Chapter any further remarks on that delightful city. During my first visit the heat of the weather was so intense, that as soon as I had taken a rapid view of the most remarkable objects, I was glad to seek a milder climate on the Ionian

coast, and determined to accompany my fellow-traveller, who was proceeding to Smyrna.

We sailed from the Piræus on the 20th of August at midnight on board a boat bound for Samos, one of the class called Saccolevas, without deck and carrying an unwieldy fore-and-aft sail. A favourable breeze wafted us down the gulf of Ægina; and in the morning we passed under the cliffs of Cape Colonna, and saw the picturesque remains of the temple of Minerva Sunias. The wind veered when we came off the southern point of Zea; and after much fruitless tacking, during which, partly from the awkwardness of the crew, and partly from the unmanageable character of the sails, we very narrowly escaped running ashore on some rocks: we at last put into a small cove in the channel which separates that island from Thermia. We had not been there long, before three small boats stood in towards us: as they approached, we observed that each of them had eight or ten men on board entirely without clothing; and on inquiring the cause of this primitive appearance, which at first rather surprised us, we found that they were sponge-fishers. They moored their boats at the entrance of the cove, and we were for some time amused with seeing them dive from the rocks, precipitating themselves from a great height, and remaining a long time under water. Their search, however, was not successful; and after a while they dressed themselves and came to an anchor close to our boat. A little

flotilla was thus collected; the crews soon dispersed themselves over the hills in quest of wood and water, and from the activity but perfect seclusion of the scene, we might have fancied ourselves a party of corsairs lying in wait for their prey.

We sailed again about midnight, and at day-break had weathered the northern point of Thermia. Soon afterwards we passed Syra on our right, and at some distance on our left saw the "Gyaræ scopula," recognized in the modern name of Ioura. The wind was not very favourable, and there was a heavy swell; but in the course of the day we made the coast of Tino, and passed near enough to observe the numerous white villages which are ranged along the southern side of that populous island. At sun-set we passed through the strait which divides it from Myconæ, and in the morning were off Nicaría, the ancient Icaria, and saw before us the lofty rocks at the western extremity of Samos, and the mountains of Asia Minor beyond them.

Vathý (βαθύ), the principal port of Samos, whither our boat was bound, is situated, as its name implies, in a deep bay, the entrance of which faces the north; and as the winds in the Archipelago at this time of year blow almost regularly from that quarter, we were anxious to be landed at some place where we might run less risk of detention. After much persuasion we at last prevailed on our crew to deviate from their course, and they set us ashore on the beach, at a spot where a retired valley opened

to the sea on the northern shore of the gulf of Ephesus, now called the gulf of Scala Nova. Having procured horses, we proceeded to a neighbouring village, named by the Turks Giaour-keui or Infidels-town, from its being inhabited almost entirely by Greek colonists from the Morea, where we halted at a little coffee-house, the master of which, as is often the case in Turkey, practised also as a barber.

About midnight we set out again with fresh horses, and rode for about two hours by moonlight through a thick forest, when in passing a defile between high sand-banks, my steed, which was none of the most active, stumbled and fell, and the point of the sword which I wore sticking into the ground, the hilt was driven violently against my side. I did not at first feel much hurt; but we had not advanced many yards before pain and faintness compelled me to dismount, and I soon found that I was quite disabled from proceeding any further, though I could not tell what was the injury I had received. On asking our guide whether there was any surgeon in the neighbourhood, he shook his head, and said that there was none to be found nearer than Smyrna, which was thirty miles distant: but as I had observed the skill with which our host at Giaour-keui smoothed the chins of his customers, it occurred to me that he might probably have some knowledge of what was once thought a sister art, and I dispatched a messenger in quest of him. After waiting

for nearly four hours, during which a severe pain in my side and extreme difficulty of breathing led me seriously to suppose that the tour of Greece and the journey of life were for me speedily to terminate, the barber-surgeon arrived; and I desired to be immediately cupped on the part affected. He performed the operation after the rude manner of the country, by wounding the skin in various places with a blunt razor, and drawing the blood through a horn. This process, though far from agreeable, having given me some relief, my companions rode forward to procure further medical assistance, leaving me to repose under a spreading walnut-tree in the forest for the remainder of the day. In the evening I was gratified by the arrival of a friend from Smyrna, who kindly came to meet me, bringing with him two attendants and an ass; and on this humble palfrey, with one of the men on each side supporting me, I was conveyed to his country-house at Sedikeui about sixteen miles distant. Here I was attended by an English surgeon, and at the end of three days was well enough to be removed to Smyrna; but it was three weeks before I could use any exercise, and as many months before I completely recovered from the effects of the blow.

I was fortunate however in the place of my detention, for Smyrna has the advantage, so rare in these countries, of a cheerful society, and its situation is as remarkable for its natural beauties as it is well adapted to commercial purposes. The bay in

which it is placed, at the extremity of a large gulf, is capacious enough to hold all the navies of Europe; and it is completely protected on the north, the east, and the south, by lofty mountains of varied and picturesque forms. On the west only the land is low; but as the winds from that quarter are seldom of long continuance, the sea is hardly ever sufficiently rough to occasion any danger or inconvenience to the ships at anchor. The entrance to the bay is from the south-west, and is so narrow that it may be completely protected by batteries. The Turks have a castle there; but, like most of the fortresses in their hands, it is dilapidated, and almost useless for the purposes of defence, though a garrison is still kept up. In consequence of the deposit of sand brought down by the river Hermus which flows into the upper end of the Gulf, the passage is gradually though almost imperceptibly growing narrower, and the bay itself, like that of Ephesus, may in the course of ages become a dry plain.

The city is built on the eastern side of the bay, partly on a spot of level ground by the sea-side, and partly on the declivity of a steep and high hill, the ancient Pagus, on the top of which are the remains of a large castle. The upper part of the town is inhabited chiefly by Turks, the lower is occupied by the bazars, the custom-house, and other commercial buildings, and by the residences of the Jews and Christians. The Franks have a quarter to themselves, which consists of a long narrow street

running along the shore for a considerable distance. The houses on the side towards the sea have warehouses attached to them, and each has its separate wharf at the water's edge. The warehouses are solidly built of stone, vaulted and fire-proof, and the terraces on the top, which are on a level with the principal floors, are very convenient places for taking exercise, especially in times of plague, when the inhabitants are confined to their houses. Many of them have a Kiosk at the end overlooking the sea. The houses communicate with the street by large folding gates which open into a court:—they are only one story high, narrow in proportion to their depth, and have almost all a long corridor, called in Turkish an Hayaht, running from the principal apartment which looks into the street to the terrace at the back. All the rooms, except the kitchen or offices which are on the ground-floor, open into the corridor; one side of which has windows looking into the court. These are closed only with Venetian blinds, and the houses are consequently cold in winter; while on the other hand, being built chiefly with wood and unburnt bricks covered with stucco, they are as little qualified to resist the heat of summer.

The present importance of Smyrna as a commercial station may be dated from the decline of Aleppo, where the chief European factories in the Turkish empire were formerly established, and its fine harbour and favourable situation for collecting

many important articles of native produce will always make it the emporium of Asia Minor. From England it imports cotton goods in large quantities, cotton twist for the home manufactures, lead, iron, tin, and colonial produce of all kinds. Woollen cloths it receives chiefly from France and Germany, those of English manufacture being too expensive for the Turkish market; and glass-ware, coarse cutlery and paper, come from Trieste and the Italian ports.

The staple articles of export are dried fruits, of which from twenty to thirty cargoes annually are shipped to London and other British ports, and several to Trieste. The figs come from Nazli and Eidin-Guzel-hissar, on the Meander. They are brought to market in a green state, and undergo the process of packing, which is not the most delicate, in the merchants' warehouses. The raisins come chiefly from Vourlá and Carabournoú in the gulf of Smyrna. Considerable quantities of wool and cotton are also exported; the latter chiefly to France, as the English spinners prefer that of American growth. The raw silk of Brusa, the Turkey carpets (which are made at a place in the interior called Ushák), and the mohair yarn of Angora, all find their way to Smyrna. Opium is brought from Afioum Kara-hissar, about five days journey to the eastward; and the Americans take great quantities of it to China. To this catalogue may be added various other drugs and gums, sponges, madder

roots, and the cups of the Valaniah acorn for dyeing. The trade may be considered advantageous to England, as she sends chiefly manufactured articles and receives raw produce in return.

Almost every European nation has a consul and factory at Smyrna, and there are probably from thirty to forty Frank* commercial establishments, great and small. Among these the English, if not the most numerous, yet had at this time a decided preponderance in wealth and extent of business. The supply of cotton manufactures, which are in great demand, was almost exclusively in their hands: and the American trade, which is of considerable importance, was conducted chiefly by English houses; as it is only very lately that a commercial treaty has been concluded between the United States and the Turks. The trade with Trieste and the Italian ports was chiefly carried on by Greek merchants, who had purchased from the government the same privileges which the Franks possess, and were called Firmanlís or Baratlís. Most of their establishments, however, were broken up at the time of the Greek revolution.

The privileges which the Franks enjoy under the treaties or capitulations as they are called, made at different periods with the Porte, are very extensive

* Frank in Turkey is a general name for European Christians not subjects of the Porte. All subjects of the Porte, not Mahometans, are called Rayáhs, and are liable to the Haratch or poll-tax.

and valuable*. They are governed entirely by their own laws, and amenable only to their own consuls: they are exempted from all tribute and taxes, except only a simple and moderate duty on exports and imports, which never exceeds three per cent on the value. No law-suit between them and Turkish subjects can be heard or decided, except the consul or his interpreter be present at the Mehkeméh or court, as a check to the Molláh† who presides there. Without this precaution, it is thought that should the dispute be between a Frank and a Turk, the judge might lean to the side of the true believer. Should it be between the Frank and a Rayáh subject, he would probably say to himself, "one dog is as good as another," and give his decision according to the general practice of the Turkish courts, in favour of the suitor who paid the highest fee.

Smyrna was long governed by a Motsellim, an officer of inferior degree to a Pasha, who was assisted by a council of eight of the principal Turkish inhabitants called Ayáns, headed by the Ayán-bashi or president of the council. The office of Motsellim

* The first commercial treaty between the English and the Turks was made in the time of Elizabeth, and various supplementary articles were added in subsequent reigns. Among others the Sultan Mahomet IV. gave the King of England leave "to purchase in years of plenty, two cargoes of figs and raisins for the use of his own kitchen." The capitulations now in force bear date in the reign of Charles II.

† The Molláh is a judge of superior rank to the Cadi, and is stationed in all the most considerable cities.

was long held by the well-known Kiatib-Ogloú, who had risen from an inferior mercantile situation, but who had so firmly established his power, that during the early part of the reign of the present Sultan he was able to defy the authority of the Porte. Like almost all Turkish governors, however, who affect independence, he at last met his fate by the bow-string. He was a man of profligate character, and cruel and tyrannical to his own subjects; but his fall was regretted by the Franks, to whom he was very partial, and who enjoyed the tranquillity produced by the strictness of his police. At the breaking out of the Greek revolution, it was found necessary to employ the strong arm of a despotic officer to preserve order; and Smyrna was placed under the command of a Pasha.

But whatever the form of the government, its administration has been uniformly favourable to Europeans, who have on all occasions, except during some temporary insurrections, when the mob got the better of the constituted authorities, received the greatest protection and encouragement: and it may safely be affirmed, that no community in the world enjoys a greater degree of freedom than that of the Franks residing at Smyrna,—no individual being ever molested except he be guilty of some violent outrage against the habits or feelings of the Turks.

Nor is this the only circumstance which renders Smyrna by far the most eligible place of residence

in the Levant. The climate is healthy and in general temperate. It is only for about three months in the summer, June, July and August, that the heat is oppressive, the average height of the thermometer being then about 85°; but even this is tempered during the day-time by a strong and refreshing westerly wind called the Inbat, which sets in regularly about ten o'clock A.M., and continues to blow till six or seven in the evening. The cold is never sufficiently severe for the snow to lie on the ground. The houses have fire-places; but the Levantines generally prefer warming themselves with the *tandour*. This is a deal-table, under which, on a platform about three inches from the ground, a brazier of red hot charcoal is placed. The inside of the machine is lined with tin plates to prevent its catching fire, and the whole is covered with a thick cotton quilt, called a *paploma*, large enough to be drawn over the knees of the persons who sit round. They sometimes indeed pull it up to their chins, which has a very odd appearance; and a stranger who should pay a winter visit in Smyrna, and find the master and mistress of the house so enveloped, would be apt at first sight to think himself an intruder.

All the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life are to be had at Smyrna, cheap and in abundance. Meat is as tolerable as it generally is in hot countries: there is a variety of excellent fish: and the mountains and forests in the neighbourhood afford an ample supply of game. The gardens round the

town produce oranges, lemons, grapes, and many other fruits; and the Franks are allowed by the capitulations to make wine for their own consumption; a privilege at variance with the religious scruples of the Turks, and which they therefore deny to their own Christian subjects,—except on payment of a heavy excise.

The society of Smyrna is confined almost entirely to the Frank residents, who mix very little with the other inhabitants of the country. They form however of themselves a numerous body, not less perhaps than three or four hundred, which is frequently increased by travellers, and by officers of Frank men-of-war, which the harbour is never long without. Their mode of life and amusements are very much like those of France or Italy. The principal place of meeting is the club-house, or Casino as it is called, where there are handsome rooms appropriated to newspapers, billiards, and conversation, and where balls are held once a week during the Carnival. At these there is said to be a considerable display of beauty and attraction, and Smyrna may boast of having given a peeress both to the French and English court. The Frank ladies adopt universally the French fashions; the Greeks have a costume of their own, which is remarkable for the elegance of the head-dress.

There are Protestant chapels attached both to the English and Dutch consulates, and two conventual churches belonging to the Capucin and Cioccolante

friars. The Catholics, especially the ladies, as in all other southern countries, are very devout, and take great pleasure in the fêtes and gay ceremonies of their religion.

Almost all the considerable merchants have country-houses, where they spend the summer months. The French live chiefly at the village of Bournabat, which is at the head of the bay about ten miles northward of the town; the English at Bujár, about five or six miles to the east; and the Dutch have their head-quarters at Sedi-keui, about ten miles to the south. Many of these villas are well provided with European comforts, and have gardens and pleasure-grounds laid out in the style of the different nations to which their proprietors belong.

CHAPTER III.

ASIA MINOR.—CONSTANTINOPLE.

I LEFT Smyrna on the 29th of September, accompanied by Mr. James Brant, an English merchant whose hospitable house had been my home during my stay there, and who like myself was going to Constantinople.

After crossing the river Meles and passing for some distance through olive and pomegranate groves, we arrived in the plain of Hadgiláh, a retired spot almost shut in by mountains which branch off from the high ridge of Tahtahlí, the ancient Tmolus. It is scattered over with groups of large trees, which give it very much the appearance of an English park, and nearly conceal from view the pleasant little village from which it takes its name. Crossing it we arrived at Cavaclí Deréh, or "The valley of poplars," near which is a coffee-house placed on the ascent of the mountain, and commanding a most beautiful view of the city, the bay, and the surrounding country. Here we halted and took leave of a numerous party of friends, who according to the ancient custom of the East had accompanied us thus far on our way. Our own cavalcade consisted of eight horses for ourselves, attendants, and baggage, which we hired at Smyrna for the whole journey.

On leaving the coffee-house we proceeded through a narrow pass to the opposite side of the mountain, and soon arrived at Nymphia, a pretty village surrounded by gardens and orchards, and in the neighbourhood of some romantic scenery. The Greek emperors occasionally resided there, and a large deserted building is still called the palace. It is now chiefly celebrated for its fruits, especially for cherries which are not found in other parts of the country; and at the season when they ripen it is a frequent place of resort for parties of pleasure from Smyrna.

At a short distance from the village, in a deep ravine overshadowed by majestic walnut- and plane-trees, a rivulet takes its rise from some transparent springs, and spreading out when it reaches the plain into a wider channel, flows in a northern direction to join the Hermus. We had a most beautiful ride along its course for several miles. The thickets of brushwood and evergreens on its banks, and the oleanders which sprung up to a great height from its pebbly bed, formed a foreground of the richest colours, beyond which we had a full view of the bold and lofty ridge of Mount Sipylus, the fabled scene of the woes of Niobe, which from its remarkable form serves as a landmark over a vast extent of country.

At a village called the Derwend we quitted the course of the river, and took a more eastern direction through a tract of country sloping gradually from the northern side of Tmolus to the plain of

the Hermus, which we saw stretching out before us to the north and east, till bounded by mountains faintly visible in the remote distance. It was nearly midnight when we arrived at Kassabáh, and we had some difficulty in procuring a small dirty room in a crowded khan.

September 30th.—In the morning we walked round the town, which is large, containing we were told from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants,—in the proportion of twelve Turks to one Christian. Only two Franks resided there, one of them a physician. Fruit is the staple article of produce, and the Kassabáh melons especially are very much prized. They are longer than the common sort, approaching more to the shape of a cucumber: their skin is quite smooth; they are of a deep red colour within, and certainly surpass in flavour any that I ever tasted.

After riding for about five hours along the plain of the Hermus in an eastern direction from Kassabáh, we arrived at Sardis, having passed several tumuli on our way. This celebrated city was situated partly on the plain and partly on the slope of a rocky hill detached from the range of Tmolus. It occupied a large space of ground, and its remains are very considerable and of various periods, as it was several times destroyed and rebuilt. One of the most remarkable is a large oblong building, with very thick walls composed of alternate but unequal layers of rough stone and of hard red brick, which is vulgarly called the house of Crœsus, but which is

probably of no higher antiquity than the Roman empire. Another large building near it, which is recognized by its circular end as having been a Christian church, is constructed with massive piers formed of immense hewn stones without cement, and with arches and vaults of brickwork springing from them. There are several smaller buildings in different degrees of preservation, and the ground is strewed with fragments of columns and masonry. The theatre was placed on the side of the hill, and is clearly distinguishable, though the seats are totally destroyed. The arches under the proscenium still remain, and one side of it seems to have opened upon a stadium of considerable length.

The base of the hill is washed by the Pactolus, which flows from a ravine in the mountain and falls into the Hermus. Its bed was now almost dry, but its sands contain a number of glittering particles, which probably gave rise to the story of their auriferous quality. On its banks are the remains of the temple of Cybele, one of the most celebrated in Asia Minor. When Chandler visited Sardis five columns of the portico were standing, but two only now remain, and they are buried in the ground to nearly half their height. They are fluted for a short space below the capitals, the rest of the shafts being plain,—a peculiarity which has been thought to indicate that they were never finished*.

* See Mr. Cockerell's observations on this temple in Colonel Leake's Tour in Asia Minor.

The summit of the hill was crowned by a very large fortress, but the earth being of a loose texture has crumbled away from the foundation, and the greater part of the wall has fallen down. The small detached portions which are still standing, overhang in some places the brow of the hill, and will probably soon share the general ruin. They are of great thickness: many fragments of architecture and sculpture are worked into them, and several inscriptions still remain. The castle commands a varied and extensive view, on one side looking towards Mount Tmolus, on the other over the vast range of level country which is watered by the Hermus and its tributary streams.

This fertile district, anciently called the Hyrcanian plain, formed in recent times a part of the domains of the Karasman or Kara Osman Ogloú, one of those powerful families which for many generations exercised a sort of feudal authority in Asia Minor. Their territory extended from Magnesia to Brusa; and their wealth, if report may be credited, rivalled that of the Lydian kings. Their government was popular; they maintained a strict police, and encouraged agriculture and commerce. Hadgi Osman Agá, the last of the race who quietly enjoyed his ancient possessions, was much esteemed by the Franks of Smyrna, to whom on several occasions he had rendered essential services. At his death, (early in the reign of the present Sultan,) the Porte, which had long been jealous of these heredi-

tary and almost independent jurisdictions, and had already suppressed several of them, seized upon his property, banished his successor to some distant government, and placed his domains like other provinces of the empire under the administration of a Pasha. The policy of this change may be doubted, and the country which had flourished under its native masters will probably in the course of time become impoverished and depopulated by the exactions of transient governors. This has been the case almost universally throughout the Turkish empire, and here a change for the worse was said to be already perceptible. The inhabitants certainly regretted their old masters; and whenever they told us of any act of oppression on the part of the government, or of any robbery or murder, they generally concluded by saying "It was not thus in the time of Karasman Ogloú."

The village of Sart, as it is now called, consists of about fifty miserable cottages placed on a steep bank on the eastern side of the Pactolus, in one of which we were lodged for the night. The inhabitants are all Mahometans; this seat of the primitive church being now without a single disciple.

October 1st.—We directed our course northward over the plain, and crossed the Hermus, whose stream at this season occupied but a narrow channel, and scarcely came up to our horses' knees, though its winter bed is at least three hundred feet wide and six or eight deep. On the opposite bank

we passed through a low marshy tract covered with dwarf shrubs and osiers, among which we sprung some *francolins*, birds which I had not seen before. They are about the size and colour of grouse, and their flavour is said to be very delicate. We passed also in this neighbourhood several encampments of the Urukhs, or Turkmen, who at the close of summer drive their flocks and herds to pasture on the fertile banks of the Hermus. Their tents, or rather booths, are exceedingly slight, consisting only of an awning of coarse black cloth supported by a few poles. Like the Bedouins of Arabia they have no fixed residence, but migrate according to the season of the year.

After quitting the thicket we passed a little village called Bozarli, and came upon a rising down covered with tumuli of various magnitudes. This was the burying-place of the Lydian kings; and the largest of the barrows is no doubt the tomb of Halyattes, the curious history of which is recorded by Herodotus, who considered it the most remarkable work in the world after the pyramids and the walls of Babylon*. He fixes its circumference at six stadia; and as it took me a quarter of an hour to walk round its base, his measurement is probably correct. It is interesting to an English traveller to find in this distant country a mode of sepulture to which he is so familiar at home, and to trace the

* See Clio, 93.

parentage of the ancient Lydians to his own Celtic ancestors.

About an hour's ride from this cemetery brought us to the Gygæan lake, a large sheet of water surrounded by gentle hills. Great quantities of wild-fowl started from among the reeds and osiers as we rode along its shore, and the tufts of rushes which rose from the shallow water at its edges were covered with shoals of tortoises. We halted for a short time at Gaiserlí, a village at its further extremity, and then proceeded to Marmara, a pleasant town situated near the hills which skirt the northern side of the plain.

The heat since we left Smyrna had been very oppressive: this day the thermometer was at 86° in the shade. We lodged for the night at a comfortable khan.

October 2nd.—Leaving Marmara we proceeded in a northern direction through a valley among gentle hills, and after a few miles came out upon another of those extensive plains which are characteristic features of Asia Minor. It is watered by the Hyllus, which we crossed, and soon afterwards came in sight of Ak-hissar the Thyatira of antiquity. The approach to a town in this part of Asiatic Turkey is generally very picturesque. The light architecture of the houses, their depressed roofs, open galleries and airy kiosks; the spacious gardens which half conceal them from view, and in which trees of every size are mixed together, in wild lux-

uriance; the sober hue of the olive enlivened by the bright green of the vine and the scarlet blossom of the pomegranate, and the white spiry minarehs rising from dark masses of cypress,—form a combination of scenery and colour which, when seen from a little distance and under the influence of a bright and cloudless atmosphere, appears to realize the descriptions of Eastern romance. But on entering the place the illusion vanishes; and we find narrow streets, vile odours, dead dogs, and every sort of uncleanliness.

Ak-hissar is still a very large town, and we were comfortably lodged at the "Yeni," or new Khan. There are a great number of fragments of antiquity and mutilated inscriptions to be seen in the walls of the houses; and in a farm-yard we were shown a large sarcophagus of coarse marble (now used as a horse-trough), with a long inscription very well preserved, purporting that it was made by Fabius Zosimus, for himself and his beloved wife, and forbidding any person to disturb their slumbers on pain of paying a fine to the treasury of Thyatira.

October 3rd.—We travelled in a northerly direction, keeping near to the course of a large river, one of the branches of the Hyllus, which flows by the city, till we arrived at the edge of the plain where it rushes out from a defile at the foot of the mountains, between a sloping bank on one side, and an abrupt rock crowned with a ruinous tower on the other. We passed through this defile into

a small valley covered with beautiful herbage, and surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills which we gradually ascended, and which led us into a country of an entirely different character from that we had hitherto travelled over. The extensive plains to which we had been accustomed, were exchanged for a rapid succession of steep hills and narrow valleys; the flowering shrubs and fruit-trees gave place to the oak and other hardy plants, and the greater attention which seemed to be paid to cultivation indicated the diminished fertility of the soil. The agricultural implements, however, were of a very rude description. The Arabárs (a name common in Turkey to every sort of carriage), which I now saw for the first time employed in husbandry, were made some of wicker work, and some of the trunk of a large tree hollowed out after the manner of an Indian canoe. They were drawn by two small gray oxen, and the ungreased wheels creaked horridly. The ploughs might be referred to the age of Triptolemus, consisting simply of a bent stick with an arrow-shaped iron attached to it; the threshing machine was an oblong board stuck full on the lower side with sharp stones, larger than gun-flints but of the same shape. This is pressed upon the corn by the weight of a man standing upon it, and being drawn along by horses, beats or rather tears out the grain.

About four hours' ride from Ak-hissar, looking through an opening in some hills on the left, we

saw Kirkagatch, a large town standing at the foot of a steep cliff on the road from Magnesia to Constantinople. It is a great mart for cotton, the staple article of produce in this part of Asia Minor. Much of our journey had been through large fields of this plant, which was now bursting its pods and ready to be gathered.

We halted at Kelembeh, a considerable town on one of the branches of the Caicus, and from thence passed through an upland country to Ghul-júk, a miserable mud-built village situated at the head of a stream in a narrow valley. The sides of the hills in the neighbourhood were covered with vineyards, and we bought six okes or about sixteen pounds of very good grapes for thirty-two paráhs, or about sixpence. We were tolerably well lodged at the house of a Turk, who showed us some greyhounds, which he said were of the true Macedonian breed. They were very handsome, but their rough pendent ears and bushy tails gave them a mongrel appearance.

October 4th.—We crossed another range of hills and descended into a dreary plain, which in winter is overflowed and becomes a lake. At one extremity of it is Baluk-hissar, a large town famous for a fair held there every summer, the resort of merchants from all parts of the empire. We saw distinctly its numerous minarehs, but we passed at ten or twelve miles to the right, and halted at Mendahora, a village at the other end of the plain.

We were first conducted to an open coffee-house, but having prevailed on the village barber to give us up his shop, we spread our beds on the floor, and passed the night comfortably enough. At this place I first observed the small hawks which frequent the gardens and burying-grounds in many Turkish towns. They are quite tame; and the people consider them sacred, and do not like to have them killed.

October 5th.—We had now quitted the line of the rivers which flow into the Archipelago. The stream which passes Mendahora runs into the sea of Marmara; but as it here makes a curve to the eastward, our road instead of following its course crossed some woody hills to Demir Kapí (the Iron gate), a solitary derwend or guard-house situated in a romantic glen. From thence a long and gradual ascent led us to the brow of a hill, where we came suddenly upon the view of a wide plain extending almost to the Propontis, and divided by a broad river formed by the junction of the stream from Mendahora which we had occasionally seen through openings in the woods on our right, and the Soosigrlik (the ancient Macestus), into which it flows near a village of the same name, where we lodged for the night, at the house of a Turkish farmer.

October 6th.—We followed the course of the river along the plain, with a chain of low hills on our right, till we came within a few miles of Mohalitsch, a large town where couriers and other tra-

vellers generally embark for Constantinople. The plain at this point is traversed by a row of high obelisks, two or three hundred yards from each other, extending from the foot of the hills to the town. This is the Turkish method of constructing an aqueduct, the water being conveyed in pipes up one side and down the other of the obelisks; under the idea, I suppose, of creating an artificial level, or of giving more force to the current.

We did not go to Mohalitsch, but inclined to the right, and about sunset reached Uliabad, the ancient Lepadion, the walls of which are still very perfect. They are of great strength, and flanked at every twelve paces by alternate round and square towers. Three sides of the place were thus defended; the other is washed by a broad, deep, and rapid river, the ancient Rhyndacus, which flows from the neighbouring lake of Uliabad (Apollonias). The modern village occupies but a small part of the space within the walls. It is poor and depopulated, its low situation rendering it subject to malaria. We lodged in a damp gloomy convent, where we found a few half-starved Greek priests, who come over occasionally from Mohalitsch to earn a few piastres by performing religious services for the Christian inhabitants of the village.

October 7th.—We crossed the river by a slight wooden bridge, the substitute for a massive stone one, of which the centre arches are broken, and proceeded along a grassy down and through several

villages commanding beautiful views of the lake and the woody hills which bound its southern shores. At its eastern extremity we passed a tract of undulating ground, which subsided at last into a rich level plain grazed by vast herds of cattle, and skirted on the south by the lower ridges of Mount Olympus, whose hoary summit we saw towering above the chesnut forests which overshadowed the mosques and minarehs of Brusa. Daylight served us to reach the hot springs which are situated about two miles to the westward of that beautiful city. We halted at Yeni Caplujar, or "the New Bath," the largest of five or six which have been built there, and were introduced into a spacious vaulted apartment fitted up all round with benches covered with mats, on which by the light of a few glimmering lamps we could see a great number of persons reposing, some asleep, some eating, and some smoking, some dressed, and some nearly naked. The only separate apartment we could procure was a dirty chamber divided by an open railing from the upper end of this large hall, and approached by a low flight of steps.

While our supper was preparing we went to bathe, and for this purpose we took off our clothes and wrapped a shawl round our waists; another was thrown over our heads, and we were mounted on a pair of wooden pattens. Thus equipped we traversed the hall, and passed into a large inner apartment with a fountain in the middle, and surrounded

by marble benches, on which also a great many persons were lying. From thence we entered into the bath itself, a circular vaulted room with a basin in the centre nearly thirty feet diameter. This huge cauldron filling the whole apartment with a dense vapour and strong sulphurous smell, the twinkling light of a few lamps and tapers which were scarcely perceptible through the thick atmosphere, the grotesque figures of the bathers with their shorn heads and bushy beards, their discordant shouts and songs as they were swimming about, and the grinning visages of the negro attendants,—formed altogether a scene which might have been taken for a representation of the infernal regions. We remained in the bath about twenty minutes; but as the temperature of the water was above 100°, and the vapour very oppressive, we did not much enjoy it at the time. It left however an agreeable languor and disposition to repose. Some of our servants remained for an hour or two in a much hotter bath, and it is not unusual for invalids to go in at night and stay till morning. The heat of the fountain that supplied the large bath was 110°. Another in a smaller apartment was 118°.

Numbers of persons flock to the baths during the summer months; and they are supposed to be of great efficacy in disorders of the skin and in scrofula, many hideous cases of which we saw among the patients. These were chiefly of the lower classes; and indeed the accommodations at the prin-

cipal baths are so bad, that few others would put up with them. There are, however, some hot springs higher up the mountain, where some small houses have been lately built in a most beautiful situation, and these are sometimes occupied by Franks from Constantinople.

Thursday, October 8th.—In the morning we rode into Brusa, and having a letter of introduction to an Armenian merchant named Kirmis Ogloú, proceeded immediately to the Ipék or silk khan where he resided. He received us with great cordiality, and lodged us in a very good apartment adjoining to his own. The khans at Brusa are very fine buildings of stone or brick, with vaulted roofs. The rooms opening into the upper corridor in the Ipék khan were chiefly occupied by artisans employed in arranging the silk for the loom,—an intricate and curious operation, as a great variety of patterns are introduced into the Brusa stuffs. The ground-floor was divided into chambers occupied by merchants, Turk, Jew, and Armenian. In the centre of the quadrangle was a large fountain overshadowed by a spreading plane-tree. The style of building, and the seclusion and quietness of the place, reminded us of a college or a monastery. Stillness is indeed a striking characteristic of all Turkish towns. In the largest and most populous even in the day-time you hear scarcely any thing of "the busy hum of men;" and after sunset the silence is unbroken, except by the sound of the

water falling from the fountains, or by the voice of the Muezzin calling to evening prayer.

Saturday, October 10th.—Early in the morning we set out to ascend Mount Olympus. We were provided with some very excellent poneys, active, sure-footed, and accustomed to the steepest paths. The mountain rises immediately at the back of the city, and we entered the first or woody region as soon as we had passed the gates. Our road, which was sometimes excessively steep, rugged, and overgrown, led us up one side of a deep ravine. As we ascended, we had frequent views through intervals in the trees and coppice-wood, over a wide extent of rich level country, bounded by a ridge of low hills which separate it from the sea of Marmara. In about two hours we had passed the first region, and arrived at the second, an open barren plain, where the rich verdure of the chesnut forest we had left, was exchanged for the dark gloomy tints of some scattered pines. The formation seemed to be chiefly of granite, large blocks and masses of which lay heaped together; sometimes in such regular forms, that had it not been for their enormous bulk, they might have been taken for artificial structures. A great many small fragments of variegated marble were scattered over the surface of the ground, and the interstices of the larger rocks were filled with juniper, dwarf cypress, and arbor vitæ. After riding along this tract for about an hour, we came to a beautifully clear stream, where

we halted; and our guide informed us that the way was no further practicable for horses. As I saw, however, the highest point of the mountain rising from this table-land, apparently at no great distance before us, I did not like to return without having visited it; and leaving my companion, who was not disposed to go any further, with the servants and horses, I walked on with the guide. His cumbrous dress, however, did not permit him to accompany me far over the rough ground and through the juniper bushes which we had to pass; and he very soon sat down on a stone, and made signs that he should wait my return. I then proceeded alone, and reached the summit in about two hours without any great difficulty. The ascent to the highest point on the west and south-west sides is gradual; on the north and north-east it is abrupt, and intersected by a deep chasm,—the crater probably of a volcano, in which there remained a great deal of the last winter's snow. A ridge of thin slaty stones heaped up like shingles formed a natural causeway across this chasm, communicating from its outer edge with the topmost peak of the mountain, which was chiefly composed of the same loose material.

The weather was unfortunately rather hazy, otherwise the view is magnificent, extending quite across the sea of Marmara to Constantinople. As it was, I could see the gulfs of Mudania and Nicomedia, with the lake of Isnik (Nicæa) a little to the eastward, half concealed among hills. Towards the

south, ranges of mountains extend one beyond the other as far as the eye can reach, none of them rising higher than the middle region of Olympus, so that from its summit they are seen in a bird's-eye view; and to the west I could trace almost the whole of our last two days' journey along the plain of Mohalitsch, and the lake of Apollonias. We did not see a single human being during our excursion; but we passed several ruinous hovels of the Turkmen, who at certain periods of the year, when the plains are parched by the sun, drive their cattle into the mountains to graze on the patches of herbage which are found near the banks of the torrents.

Descending from the summit of the mountain, and following the course of a little stream, in about two hours more I rejoined my companions; and after I had rested a while we set out on our return to Brusa. The steepness of the path was more observable in our descent than it had been in the morning, when we were going in a contrary direction, and we were frequently obliged to dismount and lead our horses over tracks almost perpendicular, or steps worn in the rock. We reached Brusa soon after sunset: the feast of the lesser Bairam had just commenced, and was announced by the firing of cannon and the illumination of the minarehs. As we passed the Pasha's seraglio we saw a great number of Turks in their best dresses seated in rows round the court, listening to the vile drums of

the Albanian guards, and viewing with the utmost gravity the progress of a bonfire.

October 11th.—Being a "*jour de fête*," our host proposed that we should accompany himself and some of his friends on a shooting excursion into the country: and early in the morning four or five Armenian merchants assembled on horseback at the Ipék khan, each attended by a man on foot carrying in one hand an old-fashioned clumsy gun, and in the other a long pipe. From the sedate mien and cumbrous dress of the sportsmen, I foresaw which of these instruments was likely to be most in request; and accordingly when they arrived at the shooting ground, and had discharged their guns once or twice at some small birds, they ordered their carpets to be spread, and sat down to smoke and drink coffee,—all but Kirmis Ogloú himself, who, though by far the most corpulent of the party, seemed anxious to make a display of his superior activity before his Frank guests. Wrapping therefore a silk handkerchief round his head in place of his Kalpak*, and tucking his long robes under his girdle, he strode boldly over the open fields till we came to a copse, when, after several vigorous but ineffectual attempts to push his way through the shrubs and underwood, he left my companion and myself to pursue the game, and returned to his

* The Kalpak is a huge cap of black or gray lambskin, in shape exactly like a balloon, which is worn by all the Rayáhs except the Jews, who are distinguished by a small speckled turban.

friends. About the middle of the day we rejoined the party, and found them seated as before on their carpets, watching the progress of some fishermen whom they had employed to drag the stream hard by,—an amusement which seemed to suit them much better than more active sports. The fish that was caught served for the dinner, which was much enjoyed; and in the evening we rode back to Brusa by moonlight.

October 12th.—In the morning we strolled through the city, which is large and well built, and abounds in traces of its ancient splendour when it was the metropolis of the Turkish empire. I counted more than a hundred minarehs, but many of the mosques are dilapidated and deserted. One of the largest, originally a Greek church, is the Turbéh or Mausoleum of Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty; and of Orchan, the second of the race and the conquerer of Brusa; and in another, Bajazet and Amurath are interred. Lamps are kept perpetually burning before the tombs of these sultans; and they are decorated with rich shawls, which are from time to time renewed.

The present population of Brusa is estimated at forty thousand, one-third of whom are Rayáhs, chiefly Jews and Armenians. There are but very few Greeks, and scarcely any Frank residents. The city is delightfully placed in a woody recess at the foot of the mountain, and is built partly on the plain and partly on a rocky eminence, where the

original Acropolis of its founder Prusias probably stood, and where there are now the remains of a large castle quite dilapidated. Luxuriant gardens extend for a great distance round the place: they abound in mulberry-trees, silk being the staple article of produce. Part of this is spun on the spot, and is employed with a proportion of cotton twist in the manufacture of the Brusa stuffs, which are used for the under garments of the Turks; and part is sent for exportation in a raw state to Smyrna and Constantinople. The factors employed in this trade are chiefly Armenians, and our friend Kirmis Ogloú was one of them. He was a single man, of very frugal habits and of considerable property; vain of the consequence which his wealth gave him, and of the influence which he supposed himself to possess with the Turkish authorities. Like most persons who are flourishing in their private circumstances, he was very well satisfied with the administration of public affairs; and in his conversations with us, he endeavoured in broken Italian to impress upon our minds the interest which he supposed England to have in supporting the Ottoman power.

This was the second day of the lesser Bairam, which was celebrated with more spirit than we should have thought consistent with the gravity of the Turkish character. The scene of the festivities was a large meadow just out of the town, at one end of which was a beautiful spring flowing into a

canal whose banks were covered with well-dressed people smoking and drinking coffee. The space around was occupied by crowds of men and boys, children of all ages, enjoying the diversions of round-abouts, rocking-horses, and Russian swings; and a number of Arabárs were waiting near, in which those who chose might be whirled with great rapidity round the fair. The women did not intermingle with the throng, but a great many of them closely muffled up were stationed on the top of a high bank that surrounded the meadow, to observe the amusements of their husbands and children. It was altogether a very gay scene; every body seemed pleased and cheerful, but there was no drunkenness, riot, or noisy merriment. A Frank is not a very frequent sight at Brusa; but we were not in any way molested in the crowd, except by the jokes of the children, who were much diverted with our short jackets. The Turkish boys are generally very handsome, and have a remarkably manly air, approaching perhaps to insolence, and announcing that they are early conscious of belonging to the privileged class. Among the different characters drawn together by the festival was a party of mendicant Dervishes, of very singular and wild appearance. They were half naked; their heads were fantastically ornamented with wreaths of flowers, and they pushed through the crowd with a hurried pace, holding a cup in their hands to receive the contributions of the faithful. A boy who could not be

more than five or six years old, but who from the number of his attendants and his fine horse we supposed to be the son of some person of distinction, happened to be riding by; and when these fanatics approached he stopped his horse, drew a long purse from under his garment, and gave them his donation with all the gravity and dignity of threescore.

From this amusing scene we withdrew to the house of a Greek merchant called Hadgi Nicholaiky, to whom also we had a letter of introduction, and who had insisted on our "eating with him" before we went away. His ostentatious mode of living was in striking contrast to the simple style of our Armenian friend, who was invited out of compliment to us, although there is a rooted hatred between the two nations. The Greek received us sitting in state in a cool marble kiosk in his garden; and soon after our arrival his wife, a tall raw-boned woman, richly decorated with gold chains and trinkets, and her natural height augmented by a pair of wooden pattens raised nearly a foot from the ground, came in and handed us a plate of sweetmeats and a goblet of water. She was followed by a servant, who offered us each a small glass of liqueur, and dinner was served soon afterwards. It consisted of a great number of dishes, brought in singly one after the other. Our host insisted on our eating of each; and as they were all of the richest quality, and there was nothing to assist

the arduous task of digestion but some thin sour wine, it was not without considerable effort that we persevered to the end of the feast. When it was over we adjourned into a saloon hung round with French prints, where a plentiful dessert awaited us. This was followed by pipes and coffee, and we then took our leave.

As we were to set out from Brusa immediately, we wished to have sent our baggage forward, and to have had our horses ready at Signor Nicholaiky's door; but Kirmis Ogloú remonstrated strenuously against this plan, and said that his "*onore*" would be compromised if we took our departure from any house but his own. After the hospitality we had received from him we could not oppose his wishes, and therefore gratified his vanity and the curiosity of his neighbours by setting out from the Ipék khan in a regular cavalcade. We crossed the plain, and from a range of downs beyond it had a view of the sea of Marmara, to whose shores we descended through a hollow way among gardens and olive grounds. An hour's ride along the coast brought us to Mudania; and as the moon was bright and the wind favourable, we determined to sail as soon as possible. After some time spent in bargaining, we embarked in a fine boat called a Beyadéh, forty feet long, with eight oars and a large sail; our servants and baggage following in another. In the morning we were off the Prince's Islands, and at one of them (Antigonia) we stopped a short time

for the men to refresh themselves, as, the wind failing soon after we embarked, they had been obliged to row almost the whole distance. These islands are varied with hills and woods, and in the largest of them there is a convent, and several villas.

The domes and spires of Constantinople now rose above the waves, and we were near enough to discern the Seraglio point, the opening of the Bosphorus, and the entrance of the Golden Horn. The Sultan was passing the day at a kiosk at Scutari; and his barges, distinguished by their red awnings, were anchored along the Asiatic shore, where we landed for a short time and mixed with the crowd who were celebrating the Bairam. On reimbarking, a fresh breeze wafted us rapidly across the channel, and we soon arrived at Tophanáh, the principal quay on the northern side of the harbour. This is a square, open on two sides to the water, the other sides being occupied by a mosque, a number of coffee-houses, and the imperial cannon foundry and artillery barracks, from which it takes its name*. In the centre is one of those highly decorated fountains which are the characteristic ornaments of Constantinople and its suburbs, and round which groups of persons of all classes are continually assembled.

One of the first things that strikes the eye of a stranger is the great variety of costume for which

* Top in Turkish signifies a gun. Hence Tophanáh, the gun-khan; and Topgí, a gunner or artillery-man.

this metropolis is remarkable, and which is thus presented to him immediately on his arrival. Every profession and occupation has its peculiar uniform, distinguished chiefly by the head-dress, which assumes an almost endless diversity of forms, some of them laughably grotesque. The Janissaries, for example, wear an upright white felt cap, with a spoon stuck in the front of it, and a broad flap of the same material attached to it behind, which hangs half-way down the back: some of their officers wear a long roll of coarse linen about the size of a thick rope, curiously crossed and intertwined till their heads seem wider than their shoulders; and others have a cap shaped exactly like a keg or small barrel, covered with muslin, and stuck so lightly on the crown of their bald pates, that it seems every moment in danger of falling off. The Galiongi, or man-of-war's-man, winds a striped silk shawl fancifully round his head, the ends depending on each side like tassels. The Delhis, or cavalry, wear a tall cylindrical cap of black felt nearly two feet high. The Tartars, or couriers, a lower black cap with a large yellow cushion on the top: and the Bostangis, literally the gardeners, but in reality the body-guards of the Sultan, a red one with a broad flyer of the same colour attached to it, which looks like the vane on the top of a chimney. The Turks, from a very early period of their establishment, seem to have attributed great importance to the dress of the head; and some of their most

renowned and warlike princes have not thought it beneath their dignity to issue ordinances prescribing the exact form and dimensions of the Kaouk*. The propensity seems to exist even after death, "eadem sequitur tellure repostos;" and the station and quality of a deceased Turk may be always known by the turban carved on the head-stone of his tomb.

Having committed our baggage to the care of the sturdy bare-legged Hamals or porters who ply at Tophanáh, we wound up the narrow streets of Galata to the adjoining suburb of Pera, where we procured lodgings at an inn kept by an Italian named Giuseppino: our apartments were small, and their only furniture consisted of a few wooden chairs, a table, and some iron bedsteads without curtains; but as the situation was airy, the rooms clean, and the cookery very good, we were tolerably well satisfied with our quarters.

* The Kaouk is an upright cap made of blue or green cloth, very thickly stuffed and indented all round, like the sides of the sponge cake which occupies the centre of the dessert. The lower part of it is wound round with a long piece of coarse white muslin very artificially folded. It is worn generally by all Turks of the upper and middle classes, and gives a great dignity to their appearance.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

The place which a stranger at Constantinople generally first visits, is the remarkable tower of Galata, which was originally built by the Emperor Anastasius, and has been repaired and heightened in modern times. It stands on the brow of the hill which separates the Golden Horn from the Bosphorus, and commands a panoramic view of the city and its environs. In front is the harbour, which, as its termination is concealed, has the appearance of a magnificent river: beyond it are the hills of Constantinople, crowned each with its dome and spires; and the white kiosks of the Seraglio rising one above the other amidst groves of lofty evergreens. Beyond these again the sea of Marmara spreads out like a vast lake, varied in the nearer distance by the tufted woods of the Prince's Islands, and bounded on the south by the snowy ridges of Mount Olympus. To the eastward is the broad channel of the Bosphorus, its Asiatic shores covered partly by the suburb of Scutari, and partly by scattered villages intermixed with cypress groves; and the little tower of Leander standing on a solitary rock

in the middle of the stream, recalls by its name at least the recollections of antiquity.

The view fully realized the descriptions of travellers and historians; and we had the good fortune to see it for the first time on a clear autumnal day, when the gilded crescents of the mosques and minarehs glittered in the sun, and a light breeze threw a ripple over the water, which was enlivened by large flocks of sea birds and by numberless skiffs and caiques.

From the walls of Galata an extensive cemetery stretches along the side of the hill on which Pera is placed, dividing it from the neighbouring suburb of St. Demetri, and looking over the port and the city. At the northern extremity of Pera is a larger burying-ground sloping down to the gardens of the Sultan's palace at Dolma-bacshi, on the shore of the Bosphorus. These cemeteries are chiefly appropriated to Christians; as all the Turks who can afford it prefer burying their dead at Scutari, from the impression so generally prevalent among them, that the Franks will ere long again occupy the European side of the channel. As the tombs of the Turks are distinguished by turbans of different shapes, so those of the Christians, especially the Armenians, bear frequently some characteristic symbol of the art or trade which the occupant exercised in his life-time; and on some of them a gibbet or a headless trunk engraved, serves to indicate the manner in which he terminated his career. As

every Christian who suffers death from the Turks, for whatever offence, is deemed a martyr to his religion, these emblems do not convey any idea of disgrace. The monuments are generally well preserved; most of them are surrounded by lofty cypress-trees, and on particular days they are visited and decorated by the friends and relations of the deceased. The cemeteries, however, are not the resort of mourners alone; they are the public promenades of the inhabitants of Pera, the playgrounds of the children, and places of exhibition for the wrestlers, jugglers, and similar performers.

Pera, though the peculiar residence of Franks or their descendants, is not exclusively inhabited by them: many of the wealthier Greek and Armenian merchants have handsome and substantial houses there; and even some of the Turks prefer it, as being more retired and less subject to observation than Constantinople. It has a small but elegant mosque, dedicated to the exhibitions of the whirling Dervishes, which have been so often described*; and its public baths are thought equal, if not superior, to those of the city. Besides the artillery barracks, the Itchoglan Serai, or seminary of the Grand Signor's pages, is situated in this quarter: the neighbourhood of the arsenal fills the streets, and coffee-houses, with the gay Galeongis of the Captain Pasha's guard, who have also the care of the police, and the wine-houses, and other haunts of a still

* See Lady Mary Wortley Montague, Dr. Clarke, &c.

more objectionable character which are to be found at Galata, allure the less rigid disciples of Mahomet to forbidden enjoyments. The gardens in the neighbourhood of Pera are also favourite places of resort for the Turkish ladies; and large parties of them are frequently seen repairing thither, either walking with a hurried and shuffling pace, or riding in small tilted waggons, drawn by four little white oxen gaily caparisoned. Their whole figure is enveloped in a shapeless cloak or pelisse called a Ferejéh; and the Mahramáh, or thick white handkerchief, in which the head and face are muffled up, effectually prevents them from being recognised. Their eyes only are visible, and they are generally of sparkling blackness, and expressive of any feeling rather than melancholy. The cheerfulness and merriment indeed which prevail whenever a group of Turkish women is collected together, may serve to contradict some of the notions which are generally entertained respecting them; and may show, to use the words of an intelligent traveller*, "how gratuitous and misplaced is the pity which we sometimes bestow upon beings who are not perhaps sensible that they can be objects of any other feeling than envy and admiration." Happily for mankind the influence of the fair sex is not limited to any particular mode of society, but may be as powerfully exercised in the retirement of the harém as in the glitter of the drawing-room.—Nor does

* Mr. Hobhouse.

the seclusion, which we should think imprisonment, excite among the Turkish women any discontent: on the contrary, it is considered as one of the great distinctions between the higher and lower orders; and in the marriage contract it is sometimes stipulated that the lady shall have the privilege of remaining at home, and not be obliged to go out shopping in the streets and bazars like the wives and daughters of tradesmen.

A stranger will not be long resident at Pera without paying a visit to Constantinople. In such an excursion it was at this time usual, and perhaps advisable, to be accompanied by a Janissary, as a protection from affront or violence. Each of the foreign missions had in its service a larger or lesser detachment of these soldiers, who were employed to attend the minister on state occasions, and to act as couriers, guards, porters, &c. Our ordinary attendant was a renegade Swiss called Mustapha, who was a great favourite with travellers, from the *naïveté* of his remarks and the drollery of his broken English. A gate opens from the gardens of the English palace upon the lesser burying-ground, through which a path winds among the cypress-trees in the hollow between Pera and St. Demetri to the shore of the harbour, which in this part is less than a mile across; and a caique soon conveyed us to Yeni Djarmi, or "the New Mosque," the nearest point on the opposite side. Intending first to survey the few remains of antiquity which now

exist in Constantinople, we proceeded through narrow and dirty streets to the Hippodrome, whose ancient name may be traced in the modern appellation of At-meidan, or *Place des Chevaux*. This is an open space of about three hundred yards long, and half as broad, encumbered with heaps of dirt and rubbish; and the spot where the struggles of the green and blue factions endangered the existence of the city, or the tranquillity of the empire*, was now peopled only by a swarm of half-starved dogs and a few straggling Janissaries. An Egyptian obelisk of red granite, not very lofty but of good proportions, which was one of the *metæ*, is still standing and in very good preservation. An inscription on the base nearly obscured by rubbish, informs us that it was brought from Thebes, and placed here in the reign of the younger Theodosius. The other *meta*, called the Brazen Column, from its being covered with gilded bronze, still remains, although stripped of its glittering ornaments and much dilapidated. But by far the most interesting object is the serpentine brazen pillar, which is supposed to have supported the golden tripod dedicated to the Delphic Apollo after the discomfiture of Xerxes, and which our sceptical historian has pronounced to be one of the best authenticated relics in existence. The historical column of Arcadius, the rival of those of Trajan and Antonine, has been pulled down for more than a century; and

* See Gibbon, cap. 20.

the porphyry column erected by Constantine, and commonly called the Burnt Pillar, is totally defaced by fire. What most reminds us of the Roman magnificence is a range of nearly forty arches of the most massive construction, which connect together two of the seven hills, and form a part of the immense system of aqueducts constructed by the emperor Valens, and repaired by Sultan Solyman, by which water is conveyed from the forest of Belgrade into the heart of the city. The arches are very lofty, and form a striking object in the view of Constantinople from Galata and Pera.

At the eastern end of the Hippodrome and near the wall of the Seraglio stands the mosque of St. Sophia. In former times this was accessible to strangers by the payment of a *Bacsheesh** to the Imaúm; but the more rigid piety of the ruling sultan had closed it against infidel intrusion, except when according to ancient custom it is opened, together with the other mosques, to the curiosity of a newly-arrived foreign minister. As it did not happen to me to be at Constantinople on such an occasion, I have to lament that I had no opportunity of seeing the interior of this church; the most ancient probably in existence, and in its original design perhaps the most beautiful. Its exterior disappoints expectation, as it is blocked up by heavy buttresses,

* *Bacsheesh,* which answers to the *buonamano* of the Italians, or the *drinkeld* of the Germans, will probably be the first word that a traveller learns in Turkey, and the last that he hears.

and various other incongruous buildings which have been added in its transition from the Christian to the Mahometan worship; and the depressed dome, the effect of which is so magical from beneath, is not certainly so imposing when viewed from the outside, as the more aspiring cupolas of St. Peter's or St. Paul's*. The neighbouring mosque of Sultan Achmet, with its six light and lofty minarehs, is a more elegant building, and more advantageously situated, being surrounded by a large court planted with trees, and screened from the Hippodrome only by a wall pierced with windows. This is one of the more modern edifices: it was building when Sandys visited Constantinople in 1627; and he tells us that the sultan made a rule of working at it for an hour every day with his own hands. Of the other mosques, the most remarkable are those of Solyman, of Osman, of Bajazet, of Mahomet the Fourth, and of his mother the Validé Sultana. They are all in nearly the same style of architecture, surmounted by a dome, and differing from each other chiefly in the internal decorations, or in the variety of the marble and porphyry columns, the spoils of the Greek temples and churches, which have been employed in their construction.

At no great distance from the Hippodrome is a high tower called the Tower of the Janissaries,

* Descriptions of St. Sophia have been given by various travellers who have seen it;—the clearest and most intelligible, perhaps, by the historian who never saw it. Vide Gibbon, cap. 40.

which, like that of Galata, commands a fine panoramic view of the city and its environs. It is also an alarm-post in case of fires: but these, as it is well known, happen so frequently at Constantinople, that little attention is excited beyond the immediate vicinity of the spot where they break out. The effects too of such a calamity very speedily disappear. There had been a very destructive conflagration in the Armenian quarter not more than four months before my arrival, and most of the houses were already rebuilt. The private dwellings at Constantinople are almost universally of wood, the uncertain tenure of property deterring individuals from using a stronger or more durable material. Of late years the long tranquillity which had prevailed in the capital had begun to introduce a fashion of more solid residences, and some stone houses had been built, especially at Pera; but during my stay this practice was prohibited by an edict, issued it was said at the instigation of the carpenters. That numerous and wealthy body of men feared the decline of their trade; and stronger as well as more enlightened governments than that of the Porte, have sometimes found it difficult to protect the interests of the public against those of clamorous monopolists.

The bazars and bezesteins of Constantinople are very extensive; a day would scarcely suffice to walk through them all. Some of them are merely open streets, but the greater part are lofty vaulted cloisters

lighted from the roof, and closed when the hours of business are over with iron gates. Each trade has its particular quarter, and each of the many nations which are collected at Constantinople has certain trades assigned to it by ancient use and prescription. Those low-fronted shops without glass in the windows, and with a shutter falling half down, and serving in the daytime to place the wares upon, which are now fast disappearing from our English towns,—are the true representatives of the stall of a Turkish artificer. On this shutter he sits at work; and though his tools are very rude and inferior, he uses them with great dexterity. As he sits crosslegged, his bare feet are quite at liberty, and habit has made them as useful to him as a second pair of hands. I have often stood to admire the skill with which a Turk, with no other instrument than a very long gimlet, which he turned rapidly by means of a bow and catgut, would bore the tube of a pipe through a cherry or jessamine stick, perhaps more than six feet long. The pipe bazar is a favourite place of resort; and many a Tartar and Janissary may be seen there looking wistfully into the glass cases which contain the enamelled amber. The Tusuk bazar (the Paternoster Row of Constantinople) is well worth visiting: several hundred scribes are to be seen there employed in copying; and even those persons to whom the Eastern character is not legible, may still admire the neatness and beauty of their manuscripts.

The Koran with its commentators is the chief object of their labours, but they condescend sometimes to fancy-works; and the little illuminated almanacks which are to be bought in this bazar are not without elegance. The workmen of Constantinople excel too in embroidering on cloth or leather with gold and silver thread: but their designs though rich are unvaried; and whether owing to pride or indolence, they have not the faculty of working correctly after a model. A large bazar is appropriated to the sale of Cashmere shawls, and another to the embroidered silk handkerchiefs which are made in the haréms, and are sometimes very rich and beautiful. The Misr Tcharchi, or Egyptain bazar, is occupied by drugs and spices from the East; and a neighbouring quarter is devoted to the sale of confectionary,—an article of great consumption in the Levant, and which is to be found in the greatest variety and of the best quality in the metropolis. The favourite sweetmeat, of which all the Orientals, and especially the ladies, are passionately fond, is the Baclaváh,—an oblong cake or lozenge made of flour and gum tragacanth sweetened with sugar or honey and flavoured with rose-water. There are innumerable preparations of a similar kind, but they are all much too sickly for the English taste; and in our walks through the streets of Constantinople we preferred stopping for refreshment at the public kitchens or Kabob shops. Kabob means literally "roast;"

and the Turkish roast consists of small square pieces of mutton strung on a fine spit and dressed over a charcoal fire, and then served up very hot between two thin leaves of bread resembling our crumpets, but much larger. In the best kitchens, a ball of savoury meat is placed on the spit between each piece of mutton, and when thus dressed kabob is a most excellent dish. No stronger liquors being to be met with in Constantinople, we were obliged to content ourselves with sherbet, which is the universal beverage in Turkey, and is carried about the streets and bazars in ornamental brass vessels, like the *eau de groseilles* at Paris. It is made of raisins steeped in water, and is sad sickly stuff.

A lively modern traveller* has entertained his readers with a minute account of the Grand Signor's Seraglio, the only one I believe which has been given of late years from actual observation. Want of enterprise, or of good fortune like his, prevented me from penetrating beyond the gate of that celebrated palace, which opens on a large area, occupied on one side by a gorgeous fountain, on the other by the eastern front of the mosque of St. Sophia. This is the place where state criminals are generally executed; and here during my stay the Arabian chieftain Abdallah el Wahab met his fate. He was at the head of the well-known sect of Mussulmen which long maintained itself in rebellion against the Ottoman power, and occupied the holy cities

* Dr. Clarke.

for several years; but the fortune of war at last threw him into the hands of Ibrahim Pacha, who sent him a prisoner to Mahomet Ali at Cairo. The courage and constancy which he showed under his misfortunes were said to have so much impressed the mind of the Pasha of Egypt, that he would willingly have saved his life; but Constantinople required a victim, and Abdallah with two of his principal officers was sent thither. After having been detained in prison for some weeks, they were led in triumph through the streets into the presence of the sultan, and then beheaded in different quarters of the city. On the following day I saw the body of the chief lying at the gate of the Seraglio, with the head placed under the arm, and the countenance still expressive of the firmness and composure with which he had met his death. A crowd of persons was gathered round, but no one seemed disposed to offer any insult to his remains.

The palace of the sultan is from its situation more exposed than any part of the city. Being exactly at the entrance of the harbour, and the ground on which it stands sloping down to the water in both directions, a few men-of-war might easily lay the whole in ashes. But the true defence of Constantinople against naval attack must be sought in the Bosphorus or the Hellespont,—passages now formidable, and which in the hands of any nation but the Turks would be impregnable.

A road under the walls of the Seraglio con-

ducts to the scale of the Bacshi Capi, or "garden gate,"—where we embarked to make the circuit of the city walls, which sweep round the gardens and kiosks of the Seraglio, and extend for five miles along the shore of the Marmara. For the greater part of the way they rise almost immediately from the water's edge; but towards the west end, near the Armenian quarter, there is space for some coffee-houses and kabob shops, which are pleasantly situated. The walls are of very irregular architecture, having been repaired at different times with various materials, frequently with fragments of marble and sculptured stone; and here and there a row of small arches indicates the site of some ancient palace. At the south-western extremity of the city we landed, and found ourselves after a few minutes' walk at the fortress of the Seven Towers, which is near the point where the sea-walls and the land-walls unite. We were not aware of the necessity of being provided with a firmán to view the interior of this famous building, the name of which was so long a bugbear in Europe; and could not in consequence procure admission beyond the outer court, where all that we could see was a knot of boys listening to the lessons of an old Chodgia Bashi, and a number of small windows which proclaimed the gloominess of the apartments. The Theodosian arch is almost hid by the buildings which have been engrafted upon it, and when strip-

ped of its golden ornaments would probably be no longer an object of admiration.

The land-walls are triple, and of massy thickness; that on the outside is protected by a deep ditch, and the two inner ones are flanked by towers. These being in every different stage of decay, overgrown with ivy, and shaded by a variety of trees and shrubs, which have planted their roots in the crevices and breaches of the walls, or on the sides of the fossé, —present a long succession of picturesque ruins, to which the appearance of solitude and desertion which prevails on this side the city gives increased effect. A considerable space within the walls is occupied by gardens and orchards; there is no suburb, and except in a few scattered coffee-houses at the Adrianople gate, we scarcely saw a single passenger in a walk of nearly five miles from the Seven Towers to the Fanal, the point where the land-walls join the harbour. After a lapse of nearly four centuries, it might be supposed that all traces of the siege of Constantinople would have disappeared in the general ruin of the walls from earthquakes or decay: yet near the Top-kapoussi, the ancient Porta St. Romani, where Mahomet made his principal assault, and where Constantine fell, the towers appear to be in a more ruinous state; and some large mounds of earth at a short distance from the walls are supposed to mark the site of the besieger's entrenchments.

The neighbouring quarter of the city takes its name from the gate of the Fanal. From the period of the Turkish capture it has been appropriated to the Greeks, and the principal families of that nation, the Callimachis, the Morousis, the Zutzos, and others, at this time resided there. It was distinguished only by being less clean than other parts of the city, though yet not quite so dirty as the "Ballat," or Jewish quarter, which adjoins to it. The external appearance of the houses belonging to the Greek aristocracy was exceedingly mean, though they were said to be very splendid within. The only one which I had an opportunity of seeing was that of the Patriarch, to whom I paid a visit in company with the English chaplain, and whose apartments were furnished with primitive simplicity.

At no great distance from the Fanal gate is the village of Ayúb, so called from being the burying-place of Ayúb or Job, the friend and companion of Mahomet, who fell in the siege of Constantinople by the Saracens, and whose memory was revered as one of the earliest heroes of the Moslem faith. Seven hundred and eighty years after his death, when Constantinople was taken by Mahomet the Second, the place of his burial was revealed in a vision; and in three days afterwards the sultan founded a mosque on the spot, in which, down to the present time, the ceremony of investing a new sovereign with the sword of office takes place. It is most delightfully situated on the brow of a hill

commanding a perspective view down the harbour; and the venerable evergreens around it may be supposed almost coeval with its foundation.

Not far from the foot of the hill on which the mosque of Ayúb is situated, a little rivulet (the ancient Lycus) flows through a bed of reeds and osiers into the furthest recess of the harbour. Following up its course for about a mile we arrived at the valley of "the Sweet Waters," one of the pleasantest and most retired spots in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. A smooth grassy lawn extends between two ranges of hills, which slope gently down on either side; and in the centre is a large kiosk, which was built for Achmet the Third by a French artist. It was surrounded by pleasure-grounds in the prevailing taste of the age of Louis XIV., and traces of them still remain. A Chinese bridge crosses the stream, which is cramped into a straight canal, and under the windows of the kiosk falls over a flight of marble steps in a regular cascade. The trees were originally planted in avenues, and cut into formal shapes; but in the course of a century the indolence of the Turk has remedied the false taste of the Frenchman, and they have shot up into a wild and lofty grove; under whose shade, on a fine summer's day, numerous parties of pleasure may be seen reposing. Selim was fond of the kiosk of the Kiathanáh, as it is called in Turkish, and often visited it; but since the accession of the present sultan, it had been used only as an occasional retreat for the

ladies of the harém. Its sole occupant at this time was an old Turkish woman, who was glad to get a few piastres by showing it to strangers; and we were permitted to inspect the apartments. The walls were richly ornamented with gilding, and the divans provided with handsome velvet and damask cushions. These were the only furniture; as the few other articles which the Turkish mode of life requires, are moved about from place to place as the proprietor changes his residence.

On leaving the valley of "the Sweet Waters," a road leads over the hills on the right bank of the stream to the forest of Belgrade, so well known in Lady Mary Wortley Montague's description; and where still, as in her time, many wealthy Christians have their country-houses; and frequent scenes of festivity may be witnessed. Near the village of Bourgas, at the edge of the forest, we passed a portion of the aqueduct of the emperor Valens, or Sultan Solyman,—a massive and gigantic structure, part of which I have already mentioned as existing in the city. Beyond it, nearer to Belgrade, are two immense reservoirs, from which it is supplied; and which being situated among hills fringed with oak-trees quite to the water's edge, have all the appearance of natural lakes, and form a fine accompaniment to the woodland scenery around.

Soon after leaving the forest, we passed under the lofty arch of another aqueduct, thrown across a deep glen through which our road lay, and which

opened at length on a broad expanse of green meadow, from which the neighbouring village derives its name of Buyukdereh, or "the great valley." It is bounded on each side by steep hills, and in the middle of it stands a group of the most magnificent plane-trees that I have ever seen. They are eleven in number, and are said to spring all from one root.

The village of Buyukdereh stretches for a considerable distance along the shore of the Bosphorus, and is chiefly occupied by Franks and Perotes. Almost all the foreign ministers, and many of the merchants, have their country-houses there; and the quay on a summer's evening is a favourite promenade. The season was now so far advanced, that most of the families had returned to Pera; but Buyukdereh is not without its winter amusements, as excellent shooting is to be found in the neighbourhood. The hills on the European side of the channel are broken into frequent glens and ravines; each watered by its rivulet, and overshadowed by lofty trees: and large tracts of land are covered with arbutus of luxuriant growth, the fruit of which attains a size and flavour unknown in more northern countries, and affords no inconsiderable supply of food to the poorer classes. A little to the northward of the village near a solitary tower, known by the name of Ovid's tomb, the forest commences, and stretches almost to the Euxine. It consists chiefly of oak-trees springing up from thickets of underwood; and being intersected by glades and

lawns covered with the finest turf, it assumes in many places the character of park scenery. The whole of this district in winter absolutely swarms with woodcocks; and near the shores of the Black Sea, pheasants and every other species of game are found in abundance. The sportsman may rove where he pleases, unquestioned and uninterrupted; but scarcely any of the natives or resident foreigners avail themselves of the privilege, and the supply of game is chiefly dependent on hired *chasseurs* from Constantinople. I was happy to find an exception to this general apathy, in my old acquaintance Count Constantine Ludolf, the Neapolitan envoy, who had a complete shooting establishment in the English style; and I accompanied him in several very successful *battues*.

Nearly opposite to Buyukdereh, on the Asiatic shore, is a remarkable hill called the Giant's Grave, which commands from its summit a view of the Bosphorus, extending with some interruptions from the Black Sea almost to Constantinople. Whenever the wind after having blown long from the northward changes to an opposite quarter, the channel is covered with shipping escaped from confinement at the Dardanelles, in the Marmara, or at the capital. The flag of almost every nation, and vessels of almost every class, may be seen there, from the tight brig of London or of Hydra, to the uncouth and shapeless constructions which

issue from the ports of the Euxine, and which appear to be built after models left there by the Argonauts.

The voyage from Buyukdereh to the Black Sea is in fine weather very pleasant; the shores, especially on the European side, being bold and varied, in some places covered with vines, in others starting out into craggy rocks. It was our fate, however, to make this excursion on so stormy a day, that we were in some fears for the safety of the frail caïque in which we were embarked. These boats are about the size of a Thames wherry, but narrower, and their sides much higher. They are very swift, and the Turkish watermen are exceedingly expert in their management, and very powerful rowers. Their oars are longer than ours; so that they pass their hands one over the other in using them, and they are weighted at the upper end to counterbalance the resistance of the water. The caïques being exceedingly sharp, are easily upset by careless or unskilful management.

The villages above Buyukdereh are thinly scattered, and insignificant; but there is a succession of forts and batteries on each side the channel, the most considerable of which are the castles of Romelia and Anatolia, placed nearly opposite to each other, at a spot where it is not above a mile in breadth. These are old Turkish or Genoese fortresses; beyond them are two others, erected by

Baron de Tott in 1773, and several smaller batteries constructed at later periods by French engineers.

The Fanaraki or lighthouse, a lofty round tower with a lantern at the top, stands on the European side at the foot of a rugged promontory; and is a very necessary precaution, as the Asiatic shore of the Black Sea is low, and the real entrance to the channel difficult to distinguish from what is called the false one. The Turks, however, with characteristic negligence often omit to light it up, and consequently a season scarcely ever passes without several vessels being lost. The channel at the entrance is about three miles across. At less than one third of that distance from the European shore, are the Symplegades or Cyanean Islands, two tall black rocks planted like sentinels to watch the passage. One of them is still distinguished by the remains of the marble column inscribed to Augustus. We approached them as near as we durst venture, but the surf would not permit us to land. The wind set violently from the north-east, a dense fog hung over the bosom of the Euxine, the sea was exceedingly rough in the wider part of the channel, and we were glad when we found ourselves once more below the castles and in still water.

It is below Buyukdereh that the more peculiar features of the Bosphorus discover themselves; and it would be difficult perhaps to find elsewhere an equal extent of scenery combining the picturesque

L. & C.

beauty of a mountain river with the grandeur of an arm of the sea, and the appearance of wealth, cheerfulness, and cultivation incidental to the neighbourhood of a great metropolis. The width of the channel is varied in different places by receding bays or projecting headlands; and its shores on either side present an almost uninterrupted succession of villages, royal palaces, and country-houses belonging to the wealthy inhabitants of Constantinople. They are almost all built of wood, the elevations of moderate height, and the roofs very much depressed,—a style of architecture which accords extremely well with the situation. Steep hills covered with gardens, vineyards, orchards, and groves, rise immediately behind them; and in front they are separated from the water only by a narrow wharf or causeway. Nearest to Buyukdereh, and divided from it only by a bay or rather arm of the Bosphorus, the village of Therapia stretches along the Thracian shore. Here most of the great Fanariote families had at this time country-houses; and the dark-eyed Greek princesses might frequently be seen sitting at their windows, or walking in their terraced gardens.

About half-way to the city, in a very romantic situation, stands the Eski-hissar, or Old Castle of Europe, supposed to be that built by Mahomet the Second, on the spot called Asomaton, a short time before the fall of the Greek empire*; and opposite

* See Gibbon, chap. 60.

to it, on a low neck of land, is the Old Castle of Asia. As the channel here is very narrow, these forts form a second strong point of defence against any hostile attempt from the Black Sea. At the village of Kouroú-Chesmé, the dark slate colour of the houses, approaching almost to black, indicates that they are occupied by Rayáhs; none of whom, except by express permission, are allowed to paint their dwellings with the gay colours in which the Orientals delight. Among the largest of these sombre edifices, one was pointed out to me as the residence of Dus Ogloú, a great Armenian merchant,—the head of the Catholic part of that nation, and supposed to be one of the richest subjects in the empire. He now enjoyed the full sunshine of court favour, was the government banker, director of the mint, and indeed the virtual finance minister. His mode of life was proportionate to his high fortunes; his stable was filled with the choicest Arabian horses, and his *remise* contained a number of European carriages, which in this country are very unusual, and it may be added useless articles of luxury. His saloons were carpeted with Cashmere shawls; and it was said that not less than fifty persons of his family, relations and dependents, sat down daily at his hospitable table. But he was placed on a slippery elevation: the Turks were jealous of the influence enjoyed by a Christian; the Armenian schismatics, the most numerous body of his own nation, hated him be-

cause he was a Catholic; and the display of wealth which he made, when as it sometimes happened the sultan paid him a visit, might perhaps excite the cupidity of his imperial guest. Under these circumstances, an opportunity of effecting his downfall was not long wanting. He was charged with peculation, because he was not able to produce at a moment's warning an immense sum of money that was purposely demanded of him; and because he had a Catholic chapel in his house, he was accused of attempting to introduce "foreign and Frank superstitions*." No opportunity was afforded him of defending himself: and in a year after I was at Constantinople his property was confiscated, his family scattered and in exile; and passengers down the Bosphorus might see the unfortunate Armenian hanging from a window of his own mansion.

Below Kouroú-Chesmé is the imperial palace of Beshik-tash†, which was built not many years ago for the Bey-Khan, sister to Sultan Selim. This and the adjoining one at Dolma-Bacshi are the principal summer residences of the reigning sultan: he generally quits the Seraglio about May or June,

* This was part of the accusation published against him; and as it is at variance with the equal toleration which the Mahometans extend to all their Christian subjects, it was probably suggested by the malice of the schismatics. The late expulsion of the Armenian Catholics from Constantinople had most likely its origin in the same cause.

† See it described in Dallaway's Constantinople, p. 180.

and remains at one or other of them till the middle of November; their near neighbourhood to the capital making the situation convenient. The palace at Beshik-tash is of great length, it is of wood painted ornamentally, and the lattices of the windows are gilt. A portion of the channel in front is marked off with white stakes, within which no boat is allowed to come; and as I was passing by one day in a shower of rain, the waterman desired that I would lower my umbrella, which happened to be green, lest the eyes of the Father of the Faithful should be shocked by seeing the sacred colour so profaned.

The suburb of Scutari on the Asiatic side is large, but badly built. The houses are mean and crowded, and few persons of consequence I believe reside there. From the immense cemeteries in its neighbourhood, it appears as you approach from the other side the water to be surrounded by a cypress forest. The most remarkable building is the mosque erected by Selim, as an appendage to the large barracks which he constructed there for the soldiers of the Nizám Djedíd. The barracks were totally destroyed by the Janissaries after his death, but the mosque still remains. To the south of Scutari is Kadi-keui, on the site of the ancient Chalcedon, and a small church of the Lower Empire is shown as the place where the celebrated councils were held. At Scutari are to be seen also the frightful performances of the "howling dervises," which have

been described by almost every traveller who has given an account of Constantinople*.

From the hill of Bourgaloue above the town, there is a more extensive and general view of Constantinople and its European suburbs than from any other point; though it is rather indistinct, from the remoteness of the objects, the channel here being two miles across.

In no Eastern city is there much intercourse between the Mahometan inhabitants and the Frank residents or visitors, and in Constantinople perhaps less than in any other. The ladies of the foreign ministers occasionally visit the haréms of the vizier, the captain pasha, or other great Turks; but few of the other sex have access to their houses, except upon business. Lord Byron tells us that some of the merchants of Pera made it a boast that they had visited Constantinople only four times in as many years; and even those persons who have more curiosity, and who from long residence might be supposed to have good means of information, know but little of the mode of life of the Turks, or of what is going forward on the other side the harbour. In a country where the art of printing is unknown or unpractised, even the external movements of the machine of state are involved in obscurity; and those precise accounts of the proceedings in the interior of the divan, those "remonstrances of the mufti," and those "spirited replies

* See Hobhouse's Travels, *ad loc.*

of the reis effendi," with which the editors of the European journals amuse their unsuspecting readers, must be referred entirely to the fertile imagination of those ingenious gentlemen or their Eastern correspondents.

The Armenians and Greeks differ little in their mode of life from their Turkish masters, and they are rarely seen in Frank houses. Those of the native inhabitants who are especially distinguished by the name of Perotes, form another class, composed of the descendants either of the Genoese and Venetians—who remained after the capture of Constantinople, and retained the same privileges under the Turks as they had possessed under the Greek emperors,—or of the numerous settlers from almost every country in Europe, who have established themselves there since that period, and have intermarried with the natives. It is from this motley race that the interpreters and inferior agents of most of the Frank missions are selected; and their great skill as linguists, to say nothing of other qualifications, renders them very fit agents of Oriental diplomacy. The Austrians and French alone depart from this practice: to each of their embassies is attached a number of young men, called *jeunes de langue*, whose business it is to study the Oriental dialects, and qualify themselves for future interpreters; but of course they never attain the skill of the natives.

The Frank society of Pera is composed of the

corps diplomatique, and a few merchants of different countries who are settled there. The former is a very numerous body, as almost every Christian state has its minister with the attendant train of secretaries, &c., besides a consul, vice-consul, and *cancellier* for commercial objects. The English mission is on as moderate a scale as that of any of the greater powers. It consisted, when I was there, of the ambassador and secretary of embassy; a private secretary and chaplain, and four native interpreters. In time of peace a continual friendly intercourse is kept up between the different ministers. Besides occasional diplomatic entertainments, they frequently dined unceremoniously at each other's houses, and each had his particular evening for receiving company. Constantinople is seldom without travellers, who are very well received; and a stranger introduced by his own minister may have, if he pleases, the *entrée* of all the other palaces, and will be at no loss for agreeable companions. As several of the ministers at this time happened to be single men or without families, the want of female society was sometimes felt; but this was in some measure supplied at the *soirées*, by the introduction of the Perote ladies, who, though not very highly educated, have much spirit and vivacity. Many of them speak French, and all Italian, which may be called their native language.

To all the principal missions a mansion, or "serai" as it is called, is attached. The Austrian occupies

the old Venetian palace, which is on a scale corresponding with the ancient splendour of that republic. The Inglis-serai has been built of late years, and at a very great expense. It is a large square pile, containing a suite of very spacious public apartments, and a number of handsome living-rooms. Its situation is not perhaps so good as that of the French or Austrian palaces, as it has no view of the sea, except from the upper windows; but it has the advantage of being surrounded by a large walled garden, which the rapid growth of trees in southern countries has probably by this time made ornamental.

The trade of Constantinople with the Christian states is very limited compared with that of Smyrna, partly because it is not an emporium for many native products, and partly owing to the frequent and long detention of ships at the Dardanelles by the northerly winds so prevalent in these seas; an evil which any other nation than the Turks would long ago have remedied by an establishment of steam-boats. The English factory consisted at this time of only three or four commercial houses; but in default of his own countrymen, our worthy consul Mr. Cartwright found I believe full employment for his time and patience in the affairs of his Ionian subjects.

A short time after my arrival at Constantinople, M. Lutzow, the Austrian minister, or internuncio as he is called, had his first audience of the grand

vizier, and invited several travellers and gentlemen of the different missions to accompany him. We assembled at the Austrian palace in the morning, and went on foot attended by a large train of Janissaries and Chaouses * to the quay at Tophaná, where we embarked in several caïques, and passed over to the city. On landing there, we found another guard in attendance, with the Chaous Bashi at their head, and a number of horses ready caparisoned. We mounted with the utmost expedition, and formed a sort of tumultuous procession through the narrow streets; the horses, unused to Frank riders, rearing, prancing and kicking. At length we reached the house of the vizier, and after waiting a short time in the outer hall, were ushered into the divan of audience, a room not remarkable for its size or splendour. At the same moment that the internuncio entered at one door, in order that the dignity of neither might be compromised, the vizier came in at another,—a mean-looking toothless old man, with a thin gray beard, and very plainly dressed. He took his seat in a corner of the divan, and on his left hand stood Prince Zutzo, the dragoman of the Porte, in a high fur cap and dark blue benishe †, bending down in an attitude of the greatest humi-

* These answer in some measure to our yeomen of the guard, and are under the orders of the Chaous Bashi, an officer of considerable rank.

† The benishe is the robe of ceremony worn over all the other dress.

lity. The internuncio, who was seated on a chair or stool in front of the vizier, then presented his credentials, accompanying them by a short speech in French, which was translated by Zutzo, with that abject mien and trembling voice which a Greek of whatever rank always adopts in the presence of his Turkish master. The vizier made his reply, which was translated in the same way; and that being over, coffee was brought in, and handed to the principal performers: while they were drinking it, some of the attendants opened a large bag, and displayed a number of pelisses of different degrees of richness, with which the internuncio and his suite were invested. That of the chief I observed was of a handsome sable; the rest were very trumpery things lined with cat or rabbit-skins, which had probably served the same office several times before; as they are generally sold immediately after the ceremony, and find their way back to the wardrobe of the Seraglio.

The audience did not occupy more than a quarter of an hour, when we all retired pell-mell with a crowd of the populace who had been admitted indiscriminately to the ante-room and staircase. Among the rest was an old woman, of most forbidding appearance, who placed herself in a window, and poured out upon us as we passed by, a torrent of the most opprobrious epithets which her language could afford. No attempts were made by the attendants to stop the career of her eloquence: they

took her probably for a sorceress, as from her haggard looks they might well do; or for a maniac, and therefore treated her with the respect which the Turks always pay to both those characters. After some struggling with the crowd, and by the assistance of the Chaouses, who dealt round blows from their long staves in all directions, we at length remounted our horses, regained the shore, and returned, not very deeply impressed with the courtesy of "our ancient allies."

The presentation of a new minister to the sultan generally takes place a few weeks after his audience with the vizier; and I prolonged my stay at Constantinople on purpose to attend it, but was unfortunately prevented by illness. Opportunities, however, continually occurred of seeing the sultan. Every Friday he goes in state to one of the mosques, accompanied by the officers of his court; and he frequently rides out to the On-Meidan, or archery-ground, not far from Pera; as, like several of his predecessors, he is exceedingly fond of that sport, and is said to excel in it. In crossing the harbour too, I have sometimes met him in a small caïque with only one waterman and a single attendant. On these occasions he is supposed to be incognito, and not the slightest notice is taken of him.

He was at this time between thirty and forty years of age, short, and of rather a slight figure, with a straight nose, dark eyes, and a fine bushy beard

of the deepest black dye. His countenance was not without intelligence, but it was chiefly remarkable for its haughty or rather contemptuous expression.

It is difficult to ascertain the real character of any sovereign, and of the Grand Turk more than of any other; but he was at this period reported to be of a resolute and energetic turn of mind, and a strict and bigoted Mahometan. The latter disposition showed itself in the renewal of many of the vexatious regulations against the Rayáhs, which had been permitted to sleep during the reign of Selim, who was suspected of being less devoted to his religion, and who had adopted some Frank usages not quite agreeable to the prejudices of his Turkish subjects. Whether the different feeling of Mahmoud was genuine, or whether he affected it as a better cover for the designs which he then probably cherished, and has since put in force, of prosecuting the system of reform and improvement attempted by his predecessor, must be very difficult to determine: the other qualities attributed to him have been fully displayed in his late conduct, and will procure him the reputation of firmness, or of obstinacy, according to the result of the struggle in which he is engaged.

It is a common saying in the East, that the three great evils of Constantinople are fire, plague, and interpreters. A fourth may be added, more annoying perhaps to a passing traveller than either of the

others—the climate; which, though Constantinople is nearly in the same parallel of latitude with Naples, does not in the winter months differ much from that of London. The fine weather broke up this year about the middle of October; and from that time till I came away there was a succession of storms, fogs, rain, and snow, with not more fine days interspersed than might have been expected at the same time of the year in England. I found the ill effects of this uncertain climate in an inflammatory fever, which attacked me with such violence just as I was preparing for my departure, that for a short time I believe I was considered to be in some danger; but by the care and skill of Dr. M'Guffoch, the physician to the factory, in a few weeks I was again in a state to travel.—I cannot however take my leave of Constantinople without acknowledging the obligations that I was under to Sir Robert and Lady Liston, and to Mr. Terrick Hamilton, and the other gentlemen of the embassy, for the great kindness and attention which I experienced from them on every occasion, and more especially during my illness and recovery.

CHAPTER V.

ARCHIPELAGO.—ALEXANDRIA.—CAIRO.

On the evening of the 29th December 1818, I embarked on board the Smyrna, an English merchant brig; and having immediately got under weigh, before dark we had cleared the Seraglio Point, and were sailing down the Marmara with a light but favourable breeze. In the night it came on to blow harder, and at eight the next morning we were off the coast between Rodosto and Cape St. George, and saw on our left the islands of Marmara, which are much higher than the land on the European side. The cold was intense, and the hills were covered with snow. About three o'clock we passed Gallipoli, and entered the narrow part of the straits; and as we could not conveniently pass the Dardanelles that night, we came to an anchor under a promontory where the ruins of Abydos are supposed to be situated.

December 31st.—About eight o'clock in the morning we went ashore at Chenak-Kalesi, the principal place in the straits, and supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Dardanus, from whence they derive their name. It is a large town, said to contain nine thousand inhabitants, some of whom are employed in an extensive manufactory of pot-

tery. The castle, which was now under repair, stands on a low neck of land; and there is another fort at the opposite village called Chalit-Bahri on the European side. This is one of the narrowest parts of the channel; and were it not for the strong current, the swimming across it would not be a very arduous undertaking. The scene of Leander's achievements, however, was higher up the straits, and the distance from Sestos to Abydus is estimated at four miles. The shores of the Hellespont are boldest on the European side: the Asiatic coast is low, and rises gradually to the distant mountains.

We went on board again a little before noon, and the wind being quite favourable, we were carried rapidly along, and soon arrived off the mouth of the Mendereh or Scamander, and had a full view of the three barrows, commonly called the tombs of Ajax, Achilles, and Patroclus, and of the Sigæan promontory, a high ridge surmounted by a row of windmills, and now called Cape Janissary. Below this is a flat neck of land stretching to the northward, on which is situated the village and castle of Koum-Kalese. On the heights opposite this castle, on the European side, are some batteries built by Baron de Tott, which the sailors call "the Frenchman's Folly;" and further on, another village and castle mark the southern point of the Thracian Chersonesus.

We now came in view of Tenedos, which had the appearance of a regular cone rising from the waves; and on our right we saw Imbros, with the

high peak of Samothrace behind it, covered with clouds and snow. Mount Athos may sometimes be seen from this point, but it was not now visible. Our captain wishing to take in some additional ballast, we cast anchor under the high land to the south of Sigæum, between the villages of Yeni-shir and Yeni-keui; and while the sailors were engaged in loading their boats, we scaled the cliffs and looked over an extensive plain bounded by the range of Mount Ida, and intersected by several streams, each of which, as the different systems of the topography of the Troad have risen and passed away, has in its turn been the Simois, the Xanthus, and the Scamander.

January 1, 1819.—We intended to have hired horses and to have spent the day in exploring; but the weather during the night and morning became so tempestuous, that it was impossible either for us to go on shore, or for the vessel to remain at anchor, and we were therefore obliged to content ourselves with the distant view which we had had the evening before of these memorable plains,—a circumstance which I should have the more regretted had they still remained sacred to the story of ancient warfare, and never become the field of modern controversy*. From the chaos of conflicting theories

* Like most other controversies, that on the Plain of Troy has ended by throwing doubt over the whole matter in dispute; and the name of one of the ancient writers on the subject, Demetrius of *Scepsis*, seems to have been ominous of the result of the labours of those who have come after him.

to be found in the works of our antiquaries and travellers, we can extract only the unwelcome truth, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the narrative of Homer with modern appearances; and we lose the agreeable delusion which connected every rill and every hillock with some incident in "the tale of Troy divine."

> Hac ibat Simois, hæc est Sigeia tellus,
> Hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis,
> Illic Æacides, illic tendebat Achilles,
> Hic lacer admissos terruit Hector equos.

The wind blew very hard from the north, with frequent showers of snow and sleet; and the frost was very severe, producing an appearance of smoke upon the waters. At ten o'clock we were between Tenedos and the mainland; the town, castle, and port of the island full in view. The tumulus of Œsyetes continued in sight, and the high ridge of Ida stretched along till it terminated at Cape Baba (Lectum), off which we arrived at noon. At the foot of this promontory is the little village of Bairam; and I could discover with the glass some large masses of building, which were probably the ruins of Assos. The gulf of Adramyttium opened as we proceeded; and we coasted Mitylene, whose high rocky shores were covered with snow. In the evening we were in the channel between Scio and Ipsara, the latter appearing a diminutive speck in the waves.

January 2nd.—At daylight we were about half-way between Nicaría and Patmos, and soon

afterwards we passed under the latter, a high rock with a tower and castle at the top, and the solitary convent of St. John on a detached peak. This day's voyage was exceedingly interesting, presenting a succession of objects animated by the recollections of ancient history:—Samos, the early seat of Grecian philosophy; Cos, the residence of the arts in their most brilliant period; Cnidus, memorable in the Heathen mythology; Patmos, in the Christian annals. The change in the climate was very perceptible; there was now no snow seen on the hills; the atmosphere was bright and cloudless; the air had all the mildness of spring, and the whole scene was enjoyed the more from the contrast it afforded to the frozen shores of the Thracian Bosphorus which we had so lately left. The fine weather however was but transient, and during the next three days we had continual squalls and showers, though the wind was favourable, and we ran before it at eight knots an hour.

January 6th.—At daybreak the captain came into my cabin, told me that we had made the coast of Egypt, and congratulated me on the prospect of arriving before noon in the harbour of Alexandria. On going on deck, however, about an hour afterwards, I found to my great disappointment that the ship had in the interval been put about, and that we were now close hauled to the wind, and running to the westward at no great distance from the shore. Every thing was in a bustle; and it was

some time before I could learn the cause of this unexpected change in our course. At length, however, I discovered that the captain (who had never been on this coast before,) had mistaken the high tower of Abou-al-Mandour near Rosetta, for Pompey's Pillar, and had fancied that he was making directly for the harbour of Alexandria, when in fact he was fifty miles to the eastward of it. The wind was blowing too hard from the northward to allow him to rectify his error; and in a very short time we found ourselves completely entrapped in the bay of Aboukir, and were obliged to cast anchor. As soon as the bustle on board had subsided, we had leisure to reflect on our situation, which was none of the most agreeable. But a few hours before, we were congratulating ourselves on the rapid and prosperous voyage of less than eight days, which had brought us from Constantinople to the Egyptian coast, and on what we thought the sure prospect of soon landing at Alexandria. The cup of expectation was now dashed from our lips, and we found ourselves set fast at not more than two miles from a lee-shore, in a bay as much exposed as an open roadstead. All our dependence was on the strength of our cable; the wind had increased to a violent gale, and as we well knew that when once set in from the northward, it generally continues for a long time in the same quarter, we could not anticipate a very speedy deliverance. The captain was in great agitation. Though he had no cargo on

board, the ship was his own; and he was still more vexed at being caught in a situation which he thought reflected upon his nautical skill, and in which he declared that he had never before been placed during nineteen years that he had commanded a merchant-vessel. During the remainder of this and the whole of the three following days, the violence of the gale rather increased than diminished, and the swell became stronger. The scene of the memorable 1st of August was before us; but I must confess that the merciless tossing of the ship did not allow me to enjoy very tranquilly the recollections of our national glory.

On the 9th a little incident somewhat relieved the monotony of our situation. At about one o'clock we observed a boat coming down as if from Aboukir; but we took little notice of it at first, thinking that it belonged to some one of the other vessels which were in the same unfortunate circumstances with ourselves. We soon however perceived that it was bearing down directly towards us; and whether from the little acquaintance that any one on board had with the coast, or whether the state of anxiety we had been in for the last two days had depressed our spirits and made us timorous, the idea of robbers or pirates suddenly suggested itself; and when the boat was near enough for us to see that it was filled with men, the alarm was confirmed. All hands were immediately ordered to their posts, and a number of old rusty muskets and blunderbusses

were brought out, examined, and re-primed. Our least effective men, comprising the ship's steward, a mulatto, the cook (who had already lost a hand in a skirmish with a privateer), and my Italian servant (more remarkable for fidelity than courage),—were placed below to supply ammunition, while the rest of us stood on deck ready to pour a volley into the boat as soon as it should come alongside. On its nearer approach, however, we did not see any appearance either of arms or of hostile intention; and when within hail, one of the men on board addressed us in an animated speech, accompanied with much gesticulation. Half of his harangue the winds carried entirely away, and we only heard enough of the remainder to show that he spoke in a dialect which we did not understand. We made signs, however, for the boat to go under our stern, and without putting ourselves off our guard, sent a Maltese, who professed to understand a little Arabic, to ask the men what they wanted. As far as we could learn from his imperfect interpretation, it appeared that they came from the governor of Aboukir Castle, who seeing a Frank vessel at anchor, thought that she might be in distress, and sent to offer his assistance. They begged us moreover to allow them to come on board to sleep, alleging that the wind being quite contrary for their return, they should otherwise be obliged to pass a tempestuous night in their open boat at sea. We rather hesitated at granting their request, being little prepared to ex-

pect so much attention and politeness on the part of a Turkish governor, and supposing that the story was merely a pretext to get on board the vessel. The earnest entreaties, however, of the poor fellows, who were dripping with the spray, (having had to pass through a heavy sea in order to reach us,) went a great way towards overcoming our reluctance; and the question was decided by the mate, a rough Scotchman, who looking over the stern, and seeing the boat filled with gray-bearded old men and ragged boys, declared that "we had no occasion to be afeard of them chiels." They were accordingly received, sat down very quietly on deck, and after eating a supper which the captain provided for them, retired peaceably to rest, leaving us to enjoy a hearty laugh at our own fears. We afterwards found that the Turk at Aboukir had directions from the consuls at Alexandria, to send relief to any European vessel which might appear to stand in need of it; and the visit was thus satisfactorily accounted for.

During the night the wind had considerably abated; and in the morning, to our great delight, it had shifted sufficiently to the eastward to allow us to make our escape. We immediately weighed anchor, and succeeded in weathering the little island called Nelson's Island, situated just off the Castle of Aboukir. The masts of a small vessel which had been wrecked a short time before, pointed out the spot where on the 1st of August the Culloden ran

aground, and served as a beacon to guide the remainder of the fleet to their daring enterprise.

A little to the westward of Aboukir, we remarked a singular and sudden change in the colour of the water; and we could trace a very distinct line between that part of the sea which was stained by the muddy waters of the Nile, and that which shone with the deep blue tinge of the Mediterranean.

Though the coast is here very low, yet the approach to Alexandria from the north is not difficult, owing to the grand objects by which it is marked:—Pompey's Pillar to the eastward, and a large square castle with turrets, called the Arabs' Tower, on the west side. Nevertheless the entrance into the old harbour being obstructed by a chain of rocks which run across it in front, cannot prudently be attempted without a pilot. We lay to, and made signals, which were soon answered: the pilot came on board, and steered us safely into port on the evening of Sunday the 10th of January. The Pasha of Egypt had imposed a quarantine of four days on his own flag; but with that inconsistency which renders useless all the Turkish regulations on this subject, Frank vessels, from whatever port they might come, were exempted from its operation. We therefore went immediately on shore and paid a visit to the consul; but not finding him at home, returned on board the vessel to sleep.

This first walk that I took in Alexandria filled me with melancholy anticipations as to my journey

in Egypt. The difference of appearance between that province and those parts of the empire which I had hitherto visited is most striking. In Greece, Asia Minor, and Constantinople, there is a general look of comfort among all classes of the people, even the lower orders being cleanly and well drest; while here, on the contrary, nothing could exceed the general squalidity and wretchedness. The narrow streets or rather ditches were knee-deep in liquid mud; the dirty flat-roofed houses were without glass or shutters, or blinds to the windows; groups of savage-looking Mograbin pilgrims from Western Africa were encamped wherever an open space presented itself; and the few miserable natives who were seen crawling through the streets or squatted on the ground, were covered only with a long coarse woollen cloth, nearly of the same colour with their dingy skin, and half of them were blind. The rest of the inhabitants bore the *roué* and assassin-like look which characterizes the rabble of Genoa, Trieste, or Leghorn; the town being full of the refuse and offscouring of almost all the ports of the Mediterranean.

The Frank merchants occupy several large buildings called Okellas, which in their appearance and arrangements very much resemble Turkish khans. When the outward gates are shut, they serve the purposes of defence in cases of insurrection, and of security during the ravages of the plague.

There are two ports at Alexandria, the Old and

the New, divided from each other by the isthmus which unites what was once the island of the Pharos to the mainland, and on which great part of the modern town is built. Formerly the New or Eastern harbour was the only one into which Frank ships were permitted to enter ; and as it was nearly choked up with sand, it was a most inconvenient and dangerous anchorage, and consequently few large ships ever visited Alexandria. The French invasion put an end to this prohibition; but an attempt was made to revive it after the English expedition in 1806. After the peace of the Dardanelles, however, an English frigate was dispatched from Malta with orders to sail into the Old harbour : the Turks did not venture to molest her, and the port was again open to the flags of Christendom. It is safe and capacious, though difficult of access. At this time more than two hundred sail of European vessels, chiefly large brigs, were lying there, waiting for cargoes of corn. The bean crop having failed in England, large speculations were entered into by the English merchants in London, Smyrna, and Constantinople, to supply the market with that grain from Egypt; and the vessel in which I came, was taken up at an enormous freight for the purpose. The detention, however, occasioned by the delay of the boats at Rosetta, and by the obstacles thrown in the way by the Egyptian government, was so great, that when the cargoes arrived in the Thames, they were scarcely worth enough to pay the expenses of the transport.

It was said indeed to be a common stratagem with the pasha to contract for large quantities of grain with the merchants, and under different pretences to delay the delivery till his own ships had already glutted the different markets of the Mediterranean. The merchants were quieted and tempted on by the almost unlimited credits that he afforded them, till at last they were so involved in debt, that they became little more than his tributaries; and in some instances, in default of payment, troops have been sent to quarter in their houses. The Frank merchants indeed, with few exceptions, are of a very inferior class,—frequently those who have failed at Marseilles, Trieste, or Leghorn; and the destruction of the commercial importance of Malta by the return of peace, sent a great many emigrants from thence also.

The state of society is such as might be expected in a place inhabited by so mixed a population, and where the almost constant apprehension of plague would of itself prevent the frequency of intercourse. There are no public amusements, except when sometimes a troop of strolling comedians take a trip from Messina. They were not now there; and the only Alexandrian gaiety which I had an opportunity of witnessing, was a tolerable concert of instrumental music by amateur performers.

The situation of the town is most unfavourable to comfort. Placed on a sandy neck of land, one side of which is swept by the Mediterranean, and

the other by the Mareotic Lake, it is exposed, unsheltered by trees, to the northern blast from the sea, and to the siroc from the desert; and it is only during the violent heats of summer in the interior of the country that any one would from choice make it his residence. It is then that the pasha visits it, and remains for a few weeks in a magnificent kiosk, built in the Turkish style on the sandy ridge that separates the port from the sea. With this exception there is not a villa without the walls; and in the large unoccupied space within them, the only summer retreats which the inhabitants have, are some wretched cottages surrounded by cabbage-gardens and high mud walls, and sheltered from the scorching heat of the sun only by a few ill-grown date-trees.

At a little distance from the walls is a chain of those immense mounds of earth which are the peculiar and striking accompaniments of all Egyptian towns, and which are formed from the perishable materials of which the ancient like the modern houses were probably composed. On the summits of most of these the French erected forts, which are now totally dismantled; and the town is protected only by a ditch and a low wall flanked with towers, which has been lately built by the present governor; and whose glaring white colour but ill accords with the sombre antique tints of every thing around. The place I apprehend would be wholly untenable against a regular attack. It is garrisoned

by about fifteen hundred Turkish and Albanian infantry, and eight hundred Topgis or artillerymen.

The antiquities of Alexandria since the French and English expeditions are so well known as scarcely to need description. The vast site which was occupied by the ancient city is marked by immense subterranean reservoirs, many of which are still in use; by broken columns, and innumerable fragments of granite, porphyry, marble, basalt, pottery, and glass, scattered over its whole extent, and by small coins, which after rain may be found in great quantities. Different names have been given to different masses of ruins by antiquaries and travellers; but it does not appear that any of the ancient monuments can be securely identified, except the Pillar of Dioclesian and the Hippodrome. The latter is plainly discernible, having been excavated by Lord Valentia. Both the obelisks are in beautiful preservation; the one that is still standing perhaps less so than its prostrate companion, with which it has been several times proposed to enrich the English metropolis. The officers of the army on the evacuation of the country in 1802 had made preparations for embarking it, which were frustrated by a want of co-operation on the part of the admiral. Belzoni had a plan for packing it up in a huge barrel, and towing it home astern a frigate; and a brig of war has since been sent with an officer of engineers on board to report upon the best manner of transporting it. The project, however,

seems now to be abandoned, and perhaps wisely. The expense would have been enormous; and it may well be doubted whether even granite could long resist the murky atmosphere of London, and the rigour of an English winter.

During the week that I remained at Alexandria the weather was showery and cold; and we were glad to retire to a small room in the consul's house, fitted up with an English grate, the only one perhaps in Egypt. I took the opportunity of a fine day to make an excursion to the Catacombs, which for their extent and arrangement are well worthy of notice; and the ruins called Cleopatra's Baths, which were probably the substructions of a marine villa. From thence I wandered across the sands to the shores of the Mareotic Lake, which was now deeply covered with water in consequence of the long prevalence of north-westerly winds, and abounded in wild-fowl of various kinds. In returning from it I passed the famous canal, which has since been put in repair by Mahomet Ali, after having been disused for a long period. This had become indeed almost a work of necessity; for the delays in crossing the bar of Rosetta grew every year longer and more frequent, in consequence of the accumulation of sand, and threatened to put a stop to the commerce of the western branch of the Nile. The enterprise, however, was not so wonderful as report would make us believe, being no more than clearing out a canal which existed in the time of the Ptolomies,

and which had been repaired by one of the Mamaluke sultans ; and the vast number of hands which a governor of Egypt is able at all times to command, very much facilitates the execution of such projects.

Pompey's Pillar, as it is still commonly called, although it is found to have been dedicated if not erected to Dioclesian, is situated about half-way between the canal and the town, and is in every respect a most striking object. The sand-bank on which it stands is on holidays the resort of the idle populace of Alexandria, and of the crews of the vessels in the harbour, who are seen wandering about and giving an air of cheerfulness to these scenes of desolation. The column, however, suffers occasional injuries from these visitors. The lower classes of the English especially, can never be within reach of a monument of art without attempting to deface it; and the sailors of His Majesty's frigate the Tagus, had smeared over the pedestal with the name of their ship written in black paint, and in letters so gigantic as completely to obscure the Greek inscription.

Among the guests at the house of Mr. Lee the English consul, whose hospitality every traveller will recollect with gratitude, and whose untimely loss every one who knew him must lament, was the Rev. Mr. Jowett, an agent of the Missionary and Bible Societies, who was proceeding to Cairo. As our routes were the same, though our objects were

different, we agreed to travel together; and we set out from Alexandria on the 19th of January, accompanied by a young Levantine Christian, named Nasr-Allah, who was going to seek his fortune at the capital, and who solicited a place in our boat from Rosetta, offering to act as interpreter on the journey. We were mounted on asses, which in Egypt are excellent, and four camels were laden with our baggage.

We left Alexandria by the Canopic, or eastern gate, and at some distance without the walls we passed the position which the French army occupied previously to the battle of the 21st of March 1801. We then crossed a gentle valley and arrived at the English position, which may be recognised by some Roman ruins near the sea, on which the right wing rested, and where the most desperate conflict took place. The plain at this time had the appearance of an immense mass of sand, so powerfully operated upon by the wind that we observed in one place a group of very lofty palm-trees almost buried under a drifted heap. These trees grow luxuriantly in the sand, and when slightly agitated by the breeze they have a most beautiful feathery appearance, and look like a forest of nodding plumes. Soon after passing the lines we came in view of the lake of Aboukir, and observed the mound which separates it from the Mareotic Lake, and along which the canal from the Nile to Alexandria is conducted. Coasting the lake for some distance, and leaving the castle of

Aboukir on our left, we arrived about sunset at a guard-house and caravanserai, which are situated at the point where the sand-bank which separates the lake from the sea is contracted into a narrow causeway.

In this caravanserai we were destined to lodge for the night, and a more wretched place can scarcely be conceived. At first we were told that there was no room, so crowded was it with travellers; but the "tescheré" or order which we had brought from the governor of Alexandria, seconded by a dollar as *bacsheesh*, at last obtained us admission into a long low building, in which were two rows of bedsteads, or rather of benches, ranged opposite to each other, with a narrow passage between them. On one of these we found room to spread our mattresses; and we laid ourselves down between a party of Albanian soldiers on one side, and of Jew pedlars on the other, separated from them only by our saddles and some baggage which we piled up around us. The certainty of being covered with vermin, and the chance of catching the plague which was then prevalent, hindered us from enjoying any very comfortable repose, and at four o'clock in the morning we set out by moonlight to pursue our journey. At a few miles from the caravanserai the causeway is interrupted by a breach of about a quarter of a mile, through which the sea flows into the lake of Aboukir. We crossed it in a ferry-boat, and afterwards coasted for some distance the lake of Edko,

another of those large shallow back-waters which have been formed in consequence of the stopping up of so many of the ancient mouths of the Nile. Passing through some low sand-hills interspersed with palm-trees, we soon afterwards arrived at Rosetta.

This town makes no show on the land side, but on entering it we found that it was much larger and better built than Alexandria. It has, however, a very gloomy appearance; the houses, which in general are four stories high, being constructed with very small dark-coloured bricks bedded in thick layers of white mortar, and having a great number of small windows closed with wooden lattices. We passed through the bazar, which is dark and narrow, to the house of Mr. Lenzi the English vice-consul, who received us with as much cordiality as his extravagant fears of the plague would allow, and procured us a lodging at an inn kept by an Italian, where we should have been comfortable enough, had we not been for the first time greeted by one of the modern plagues of Egypt in the shape of mosquitoes, which swarm upon the banks of the Nile, and are of a more venomous quality there than in any other place I ever visited. The moment you embark on the river, however, they disappear.

Nothing can be more striking than the difference in the character of the scenery on the land side and on the river side of Rosetta. On the one there is

nothing to be seen but heaps of sand and a few straggling palm-trees. On the other, the Nile rolls his slow and majestic course through fields and gardens overgrown with luxuriant vegetation, and through groves of palms, orange-trees, limes, and bananas. Its stream is divided just below the town by an island covered with lofty sycamores and acacias, among which were now deposited some Egyptian statues, which might have been supposed the tutelary deities of the spot.

Rosetta was at this time a place of great consideration, being the emporium from which all the grain brought from the Delta and from Upper Egypt was shipped for Alexandria. The opening of the canal however, at Rahmanié, must since have much diminished its importance. Its population was estimated at from twenty to thirty thousand. The quay is very fine, extending nearly a mile along the western side of the river. The Pasha's granaries are built upon it, and we saw great numbers of the "Fellahs" or peasants employed in carrying the corn to and from the boats. Some of them were fine strong men, but they were almost naked and very miserable in their appearance, their pay being, as we understood, at the rate of five parahs (or about the eighth part of sixpence) per day, a very low scale of wages, notwithstanding the extreme cheapness of food in Egypt. The work however appeared to be done with the greatest alacrity, owing perhaps to the vigilant superintendance of

the Albanian taskmasters, who stood by with long sticks in their hands, which they applied without ceremony to every loitering "operative."

At Rosetta we first observed the true Egyptian dress of the women, which at Alexandria is corrupted by some mixture of foreign fashions. It consists of a coarse cotton shirt tied round the waist, over which is worn a loose blue dress, nearly of the colour of our butchers' frocks, with large sleeves, and a hood which goes over the head. Among the poorer people the under garment is sometimes dispensed with; but all decent classes in the towns have their faces covered with a triangular black veil, ornamented with steel beads, which is suspended over the forehead, and allows the eyes only to be seen.

The gardens round Rosetta are large and productive. The season for dates was nearly passed, but some clusters still remained hanging on the trees, packed up in baskets made of the leaves to protect them from the birds. The dates are of two kinds, the purple and the yellow. The former is in shape and colour not unlike the large Damascus plum, and when perfectly ripe the taste approaches nearer to that fruit than to any other which we possess, though it is more rich and juicy; when unripe it is excessively rough and sour. The other sort is of a deep orange colour and of a more delicate flavour.

The banana at Rosetta does not grow to any great size. Its leaves are in shape something like

those of the Indian corn, but very much larger, sweeping the ground and forming a bower round the stem. The fruit was now just ripe. It is a sort of marrow contained in a large pod, and when fresh gathered the flavour is exquisite. It is too delicate however to keep, even though plucked before it is fully ripe, as the pulp soon becomes soft and decays.

In one of our walks we went into a garden where we had observed a very fine display of fruit, and asked the proprietor for some oranges: he brought us some bitter ones; and when we explained to him that we wished for the sweet sort, he stoutly denied having any. However, as our guide had told us that there were plenty in the garden, we pressed our request, and having backed it by the offer of a few piastres, the old man led us into a remote corner, where we found some trees loaded with them. We observed that he carefully buried in the ground the peel of all that we ate; and on our asking him the reason, he told us that he was afraid lest the Albanian soldiers if they chanced to find out that he had sweet oranges in his garden, should come and take them from him, and that the fear of his treasures being discovered by these plunderers made him unwilling at first to show them even to us*.

* An incident of a similar character is mentioned by Rousseau as having happened to him in his youth in France, and as having been the origin of that hatred of oppression which distinguished his after life.—See *Confessions*, part 1. livre 4.

Three different kinds of boats navigate the Nile. The largest are called Germs, and are used exclusively for the conveyance of corn and merchandise. The Cangia is used for passengers only, and almost every person of consideration possesses one of his own. The Mahash is an intermediate rate, capable of carrying a considerable cargo, but fitted up with a large cabin for the accommodation of passengers also. A vessel of this class being on the point of sailing for Cairo, we engaged our passage on board. The cabin was sufficiently large for my companion and myself, and a temporary awning was erected on the deck for Nasr-Allah and the servants.

We sailed late in the evening of the 21st of January, having been detained for two hours by the absence of the "reis" or master of the boat, who was not to be found at the time appointed. The Turkish officer to whom we complained of the detention sent to fetch him, and when he arrived at the quay rated him very severely, and drove him on board with repeated blows from a large stick. We were apprehensive that he would show his resentment for this usage by uncivil conduct to us; but he seemed perfectly inured to it, and as soon as he came on board began to give us reasons for his absence with the utmost composure. The whole of the night was consumed in warping up the line of boats which were moored along the quay, and at daybreak we found ourselves opposite to the

Marabout or Shekh's tomb of Abou al Mandour, which stands on a conspicuous eminence at a little distance from the town.

January 22nd.—The winds were very light, and we made but little progress. The inundation had not yet entirely subsided, (although the river had sunk considerably below its banks,) and from the roof of our cabin we could command an uninterrupted view over the country, the perfect level of which was broken only by the high banks of the numerous canals which intersect it. This monotony, however, was relieved by the number of villages which present themselves at every turn of the river, and frequently in very picturesque points of view. Their minarehs bear no resemblance to those of European or Asiatic Turkey, (which from their shape have been not inaptly compared to tall candles with extinguishers upon them), but are much more like Gothic towers, and when seen rising from groves of tufted sycamores, often give an English character to the scenery.

The mornings and evenings were now very cold, and the greater part of the day cloudy, though the sun at noon and for a few hours afterwards generally shone out with a scorching heat. We went on shore at Fouah, which is one of the most considerable towns in the Delta, but dirty and wretched in the extreme. It was anciently called Metelis, and was remarkable for being a nursery of the Almehs or dancing-girls, who seem to have existed

in Egypt from very early times, and who still continue to excite the curiosity of the traveller, although their performances generally disappoint his expectation.

We anchored near Fouah. The river was crowded with vessels of different kinds, and the chaunt of the boatmen had a pretty effect at nightfall.

23rd.—We passed Rahmanié, where there is a strong fort commanding the entrance of the canal which branches off to Alexandria.

The groups of women going to fetch water form a striking feature in the scenery of the Nile. Thirty or forty of them are frequently seen walking in single file, and at regular distances to and from the river, each with a jar on her head and another on the palm of her hand. From the necessity of preserving their balance in this mode of carrying burdens, to which they are from their childhood habituated, these Egyptian peasants acquire a firmness and grace of step which we scarcely see excelled in the saloons of polished cities. Their erect attitude, simple drapery, and slim figures increased in apparent height by the pitchers on their heads, give them at a distance a very classical appearance, but if you approach the Naiads, you find them pale, dingy, and emaciated. This opportunity, however, very seldom occurs; for whenever a turn in the river or any accidental circumstance brings you suddenly upon them, they muffle up their faces in their dress, and retreat as hastily as possible.

Towards sunset we observed some Turkish officers sitting in a kiosk on the western bank of the river, nearly opposite to a village called Mehallet Abou-táli; and as we passed, their attendants hailed us, and desired the reis to bring to. Considering that our tescheré as well as our being Franks protected us from such interruptions, we paid no attention to the summons, and ordered the boatmen to cross over to the opposite side of the river. The wind, however, failed us before we could execute this manœuvre, and we soon observed a light Cangia with several Albanian soldiers on board in pursuit of us. To escape was impossible, and the crew was thrown into the utmost confusion. The reis was alarmed for the consequences of his disobedience, and our friend Nasr-Allah, who, confident in Frank protection, had been picturing to himself with great glee the rage which the "infidel dogs" would be thrown into at seeing their orders neglected, now began to change colour, and to lose the presence of mind so necessary to his office of interpreter. The soldiers soon came alongside, and either disregarding or not understanding the remonstrances which my companion addressed to them in the most approved Cambridge Arabic, stepped without ceremony into our boat, pouring out upon us all a torrent of the grossest abuse, and upon the unfortunate reis a shower of blows. We showed them our tescheré, but they treated it with the utmost contempt, seized the helm, and steered the boat

back again to the kiosk. We now found that Cutchuk Bey, the officer commanding the troops on this station, was desirous of sending some of his men to Cairo, and for that purpose had ordered our boat to be detained; the Turkish officers and even the meanest soldiers assuming a right to quarter themselves on any vessel which may be passing, without the slightest regard to the wishes of the passengers. On finding, however, that we were Englishmen, the bey permitted us to proceed without molestation, but the reis was severely reprimanded for his disobedience to orders.

24th.—The wind still continuing unfavourable we came to an anchor, and went ashore near the little village of Goubadi. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the Delta at this season. One extensive plain presented itself to our view in the highest state of cultivation. The wheat was already in ear, and so productive is the soil that we counted seventeen stalks growing from a single grain. Flax, barley, lupines, and various other plants were springing up luxuriantly, and the beans and clover now in full blossom shed around a delightful perfume. The sun shone brightly; large herds of oxen, sheep, goats, and camels were grazing; birds of various kinds were hovering over the fields; swallows were skimming over the surface of the river, and now and then a group of stately pelicans floated down the stream.

To these beautiful appearances of nature nothing

could afford a stronger contrast than the squalid wretchedness of the houses and of their inhabitants. The former are built entirely of mud, and are surmounted by conical pigeon-houses of the same material, which at a distance have the appearance of stacks of chimneys. The men and women were universally in rags; and the children both boys and girls, some of them not in their earliest years, came running towards us to ask for *bacsheesh* in a perfect state of nature.

Passing on the outside of the village we walked to Salhaggar, a considerable town, near which are the remains of the ancient Sais. Their extent is very great; but if we except a few mutilated statues and fragments of granite, nothing but a circuit of enormous mounds serves to distinguish the site of this once proud metropolis.

We observed to-day several birds which we had not before seen. One was a beautiful specimen of the hoopoo tribe, about the size of a large thrush. The body and breast were of a dusky red, something like that of a bullfinch, the back and wings were barred with black, and on its head was a large crest of black and white feathers, which it raised or lowered at pleasure. We saw also several of the horned plovers, which are exactly like our common lapwing, except in having a strong curved horn or claw at the upper joint of the wing: and some beautiful birds of the crane kind, with a milk-white plumage. These latter are held in a sort of super-

stitious veneration by the natives, and we were cautioned not to kill them.

26th.—At Algam we were interrupted by a circumstance not unfrequent in navigating the Nile,—a mutiny of the crew, who almost all left the boat and retired into the village. As they had been for three days harnessed together like horses, and towing for eight or ten hours a day without any more substantial fare than rice with a few peas or lentils intermixed, and a little sour curd,—we could not be very much surprised at their discontent; and after threatening them in vain, we had recourse to the milder methods of persuasion and *bacsheesh*, and succeeded in bringing them to their posts in the evening.

28th.—This morning, off the village of Ouardar, we caught the first view of the Pyramids. We were about thirty miles distant, but the sun was behind them, and threw out their forms very distinctly.

About dusk we passed the opening of the Damietta branch of the Nile, above which the river becomes much wider, perhaps not less than two miles across. It is proportionally shallow, and for the first time our progress was stopped by a sand-bank. The boatmen immediately stripped off their clothes, jumped into the water up to their necks, and after some efforts succeeded in shoving us off, and the wind being fresh and favourable, we reached Boulac, the port of Cairo, about midnight. We had occupied more than a week in this voyage, which

at a more favourable time of the year, when the Nile is high and the Etesian or northerly winds prevail, is ordinarily performed in thirty-six hours. Till the last day indeed we had made scarcely any progress except by towing. The novelty of the scene, however, the warmth of the sun, and the excellent shooting which the banks of the Nile afford, prevented us from finding our voyage at all tedious.

29th.—Early in the morning we landed, and immediately set out for the city, which is about a mile and a half from the port, across a level plain. The best entrance to Cairo is on this side, as it passes through the great square called the Esbekiah. This was formerly surrounded by the houses of the Mamaluke beys, and afforded some fine specimens of the old Egyptian style of building; but the greater part of them having been destroyed in the dreadful convulsions which took place after the French and English forces evacuated the country, new houses have been built in the Turkish style, most of which are occupied by the pasha's household and other persons of distinction. The Esbekiah is inundated at the overflowing of the Nile, and during the reign of the Mamalukes was the scene of the gay pageantries which were then exhibited. The French had planted it with trees and otherwise embellished it, but after their expulsion, the Musulman indignantly destroyed every vestige of the improvements which they had made. From this place we entered almost

immediately into what is called the Frank quarter, consisting of a cluster of the darkest and narrowest streets in Cairo, the avenues to which are closed by gates,—a precaution very necessary in times when tumults and insurrections were more frequent.

Through several of these gloomy alleys we passed to the house of the English consul, which, although its outward appearance was not very promising, we found within airy and pleasant, containing some spacious apartments, and having the advantage of a good garden shaded by lofty palm-trees, and laid out in gravel walks and shrubberies in the English fashion. Mr. Salt was absent on an excursion to Upper Egypt and Nubia, but Mr. Asiz the chief dragoman to the mission assigned us quarters in the consulate, an accommodation for which we felt much obliged, as the inns at Cairo are proverbially dirty and miserable, and Egypt is a country in which more than in any other to be well lodged is essential to comfort.

30th.—We visited the Citadel, passing in our way through the Bazar, and through some much wider and handsomer streets than those which we had seen the day before, and which had given us no very high idea of the magnificence of the Grand Cairo. We rode on asses, numbers of which are to be found stationed at the corners of almost every street, like the stands of hackney coaches in Europe. Each ass is attended by a boy, who runs before, and calling out continually "*Rigleh, rigleh,*"

or "Legs, legs," warns the passengers to get out of the way; a precaution very necessary, as the pace is a brisk trot or amble, and the streets swarm with people of whom one out of three is blind. The dexterity with which the animals steer through the crowd almost without guiding is very admirable, and soon relieves the rider from the apprehension he would otherwise feel of striking his knees against the shovel stirrup of some proud Turk, whom he might meet on horseback. The odious distinction which prevented all Christians from riding on horseback in Cairo, and which even compelled them to dismount from their more humble palfreys whenever they passed the gates of a mosque, is now completely abolished. A French commander wishing to effect this revolution without shocking too much the prejudices of the Musulman, issued an order that they also should dismount when they passed the mosques; and upon their objecting to this, he replied, "How then can you expect the Christians to pay more respect to your holy places than you are willing to do yourselves?"

The Citadel is built on a rock detached from the chain of the Mocattam mountains, which approach very near to the town on the eastern side. Before the invention of gunpowder its position was considered very strong, but it is commanded from the neighbouring ridges. This circumstance, however, has not hindered the Pasha from expending large sums of money in repairing the walls and ap-

proaches, which had become much dilapidated by time, and by the several cannonadings which the castle had suffered during the occupation and after the expulsion of the French. The works were not yet completed, but the Pasha's Seraglio, built on that side of the rock which is steepest and which overlooks the city, was finished, and occasionally occupied by him. It consists of a very spacious hall, communicating with several large apartments, which, besides the usual Turkish luxuries of cushions and divans, are furnished with mirrors, clocks, and other specimens of European refinement, and are ornamented with some tolerable landscapes, painted in fresco on the walls by Greek or Armenian artists from Constantinople. Without, the prospect is vast and impressive, combining the extremes of prosperity and of desolation. The governor of Egypt may view with pride from the windows of his palace the city of Cairo, with its countless domes and busy population, the rich fields of the Delta, and the Nile which brings him the tribute of twenty provinces; but the pyramids on one side, and the deserted tombs of the Mameluke sultans on the other, memorials of dynasties which have passed away before their works have perished, may remind him of the instability of his power.

The other curiosities of the citadel have been fully described by every traveller who has written on Egypt for the last two hundred years. The Well of Joseph as it is called, whatever may have been

its origin, is a very remarkable excavation, being cut nearly three hundred feet deep in the solid rock, with a spacious gallery round it, extending spirally from top to bottom. The Hall of Joseph or Yussuff, is now referred to the prince of that name, better known as Sultan Saladin; and to compensate the patriarch for this ejectment, a modern traveller has assigned him a burial-place in the Pyramid of Cheops*. It is a large and lofty oblong building, constructed with what we should call Saxon arches, supported on granite pillars. Though it has long been roofless, yet such is the serenity of the climate that some inscriptions in the ancient Cufic character on a wooden frieze which runs round the interior, remain almost unimpaired. It is now used as a magazine for artillery, of which we saw a great variety of different ages and countries, from the Venetian of the fifteenth to the French and English of the nineteeth century.

In front of the Seraglio was stationed a large body of the cavalry of the pasha's guard, whose appearance reminded us of what we had read of Mamaluke splendour, and exceeded in picturesque effect any military display which I ever saw in Europe. From the bright and varied hues of the dresses and turbans, and the richness of the equipments, the square which they occupied when seen from a distance looked like a bed of the gayest flowers. The clear atmosphere of Egypt gives to

* See Clarke's Travels, *ad loc.*

colours their utmost brilliancy, and the Orientals have great taste in the choice of them. The raw scarlet and the heavy dark blue are scarcely in use; crimson, purple, yellow, light green, pink and azure, are the favourites. No two soldiers are dressed alike; but as the ample drapery of each individual is generally but of one colour, there is a greater variety and at the same time a greater breadth of effect, than can ever be produced by the little red, blue, and yellow patches of European uniforms.

The pomp and splendour of the Turks and the soldiery at Cairo is in violent contrast with the appearance of the unfortunate natives, of whom even the better classes avoid every thing like richness in their apparel in order to escape observation, while the poorer are almost universally in rags, insomuch that it would be difficult in passing through the streets to single out one of the Arab population whose dress should be perfectly entire.

Cairo is one of the cities which has the privilege of coining, and the mint is in the citadel. Two things only in it were remarkable; the extreme wretchedness of the workmen, and the excessive baseness of the coin. Of the latter, some idea may be formed, when we are told that a dollar which in other parts of the empire was at this time worth about 250 paras, at Cairo was coined into 360. The Egyptian piastre, composed of copper and base metals, is too bad to be current any where out of the immediate dominions of Mahomet Ali.

In descending from the citadel, a narrow pass sunk between walls and embarrassed with gateways, was pointed out to us as the spot where the memorable massacre of the Mamalukes in the year 1811 commenced; an outrage which, whatever attempts may have been made to palliate it by the usual plea of state necessity, has scarcely a parallel even in the history of this empire, deeply as its annals are stained by perfidy and crime. A particular spot in the wall is shown over which one of the Mamalukes, Amim Bey, in the desperation of the moment spurred his horse. The generous animal, conscious of his master's danger, cleared the leap, but fell headlong down a precipice of thirty feet on the other side. The rider escaped unhurt, and was still living a few years ago in the service of the Porte.

In an open space just below the citadel stands the mosque of Sultan Hassan, which is reckoned the most splendid in Cairo. Its exterior is chiefly remarkable for the beauty of the masonry, being quite plain, with the exception of a gateway profusely decorated with mouldings and ornaments, which appeared to me to be precisely similar to those found in the Gothic buildings of England and France.

The sun even at this time of the year at Cairo is scorchingly hot; but a heavy dew falls in the evening accompanied by a degree of cold, which the large halls and open doorways are ill calculated

to resist. We were sitting this evening after dinner muffled up in our cloaks, when our attention was suddenly attracted by the voice of a person in the court, who was talking very loudly in English, and earnestly requesting or rather demanding to see Mr. Salt. Presently the Italian servant ran into the room, begging us to interpret the meaning of the stranger, whose vehemence seemed to have thrown him into great alarm; and we ourselves were a little surprised, when we saw him followed in by a man of very wild appearance, whose figure in the dusk looked almost gigantic. His head was covered with close curling hair, his chin with a short tufted beard, and his nose flattened to his face gave a most ferocious character to his aspect. His legs and arms were bare; the remainder of his person was covered with a flowing white drapery, over which was thrown the skin of some wild animal. A short sword hung by his side, a small round shield over one shoulder, and he brandished a spear in his hand, while he attempted with impatient gestures to explain his meaning to the astonished Italian. He became more calm, however, when we addressed him in his native language, to which he said he had been long unaccustomed, and informed us that his name was Nathaniel Pearce, that he had been one of Lord Valentia's attendants, and had left him to settle in Abyssinia, where he had remained fourteen years. In consequence of some disturbances which had of late broken out in that country, he had de-

termined, however, to leave it, and had come to Cairo by Mr. Salt's advice. From the singularity of his attire, the guards at the gate of the city would not believe that he was an Englishman, and refused him admittance for some time; and his vexation at this detention, and the consequent loss of some of his baggage, he gave as an excuse for the violence of his manner when he first presented himself. My companion was I found already acquainted with his story, and we begged that an apartment might be assigned him, where in the course of the evening we paid him a visit. We found the floor strewed with Abyssinian arms and curiosities, among which was a cage containing a beautiful animal of the civet-cat kind, which he had brought from the forests of Tigré. His wife, an Abyssinian woman named Tringo, though of a deep copper complexion and though worn down by the fatigues of a long and perilous journey, retained some traces of beauty, which joined to an air of deep melancholy gave her altogether a very interesting appearance. She was sitting cross-legged on a mat; and close crouching and half hid behind her was her servant, a little woolly-haired half-naked girl, called Cullum*, who seemed full of fun and gaiety, and delighted with the novelty of the scene.

Another evening I was visited by a renegade European, who came to offer his services as an in-

* An abbreviation of Cullumsis, which in the Abyssinian language means *Revelation*.

terpreter. Persons of this class are not at all uncommon in Egypt. When the French army evacuated the country, about eight hundred individuals remained behind, who, had they united, would have perhaps been sufficiently strong to have turned the scale in favour of whichever party they had joined. But on the contrary, some attached themselves to the Mamalukes and others to the Turks. The former shared the fate of their masters. Of the latter, some still remain in the service of Mahomet Ali or his officers, and some few have settled and become cultivators. Their numbers have been much reduced by plague and other casualties, although their ranks have been occasionally recruited by refugees from Europe. The character of these men does not in general stand very high, as they are supposed to unite the vices both of their native and adopted countries, without possessing the virtues of either. For the national credit, however, I must exempt from this general censure the worthy Hadgi Osman, to whose good qualities almost every traveller in Egypt will bear testimony. He was a native of Perth, and belonged to a Highland regiment, but having the misfortune to be taken by the Turks in the unfortunate expedition of 1806, he became a slave, and of necessity a Musulman. The master to whom he belonged having quitted Egypt, he was deprived of the benefit of the exchange of prisoners which took place at the end of the war, and it was not till some years afterwards

that Shekh Ibrahim (Burckhardt) met with him at Jedda, paid his ransom, and took him into his own service. He remained with the Shekh till his death, when he inherited a part of his property, and afterwards went into the employ of Mr. Salt, whom he attended in his excursions to Upper Egypt. He also frequently accompanied other travellers, and rendered himself extremely useful by his intelligence and fidelity, and by his knowledge of the manners and habits of the people of the country.

The privilege of possessing slaves, which in other provinces of the Turkish empire is restricted to the faithful alone, is in Egypt common to all classes; and the khan, where the slave-market is held, is not, as at Constantinople, closed against the Infidel. We visited it one morning, and its appearance did not certainly confirm those ideas of misery and unhappiness which we are in the habit of attaching to such a scene. It was now the season when fresh caravans were daily expected; but few slaves therefore remained unsold, and of the numerous cells which open into the courts and corridors of the khan, not more than five or six were occupied. To one of these our attention was attracted by some loud shouts of laughter; and on approaching we found there about half a dozen girls all black as ink, the eldest probably about twelve or thirteen years old, which in these countries is the age of womanhood. They all seemed in the height of merriment; and when we presented ourselves at the

door of their apartment, one of the eldest, who had a lively smiling face and the whitest teeth imaginable, advanced towards us, arranging her very scanty drapery with the utmost coquetry, so as to show off to the best advantage a very pretty little figure. She offered us her hand, desired the interpreter to say how happy she should be to belong to either of us, and seemed much disappointed when she heard that we were not purchasers, and that curiosity alone was the motive of our visit. Her price we were told was about twenty-five pounds. In another cell we were shown two Abyssinian girls, who being of a lighter colour were considered of much greater value; but they were awkward squat figures, and their countenances were sulky and inanimate, without any of the lively expression of their black companions. It is observed, indeed, that of all the slaves brought to Cairo, the Abyssinians alone seem to be melancholy, and to regret their native country: they have a great sensibility of disposition, and almost all of them sooner or later fall victims to the *maladie du pays**.

Throughout the Turkish empire slavery may be said to exist in its most mitigated form; the condition of the domestic slaves (and there are no others) being superior to that of the peasantry, and equal to that of many classes of servants in more civilized states. They are I believe universally well

* This was the case with Pearce's wife Tringo, who died within a few months after her arrival at Cairo.

treated, frequently grow rich in the service, and are generally much attached to their masters and their families. Their good treatment is in some degree secured by the right which they possess of compelling their proprietors to sell them if they are dissatisfied with their situations.

On Sunday January the 31st we went to the Coptic church, a small building in an obscure part of the town. As we approached it we found all the avenues choked up with beggars, most importunate in their requests, and exhibiting almost every variety of human suffering. The church was crowded to excess, chiefly with persons of the lower classes. The service seemed to be made up of the fantastical ceremonies and nasal chaunt which are common to all the Eastern Christians. I remarked that the priest not only partook of the consecrated wafer himself, but administered it also to the ragged boys who officiated as acolytes. After church we were invited to pay a visit to a wealthy Coptic merchant, named Hannah Toweel, or in English "Long John," who received us with the usual ceremonies, and at whose house we saw the patriarch of the nation, a very well-behaved and venerable-looking man.

The Copts, a remnant of the ancient inhabitants of the country, are still the most numerous body of Christians existing in Egypt; but since the re-establishment of the Turkish power they have had much less influence than they formerly possessed in the management of public affairs. During the

reign of the indolent and luxurious Mamalukes, the department of the revenue was entirely in their hands, all the secrets of its amount and its mode of collection were known to them alone, and they were consequently able to commit with impunity every sort of peculation. The French endeavoured in vain to dispense with their services, having never been able to collect the taxes without their assistance, and it remained for Mahomet Ali to break the fiscal chain, which for centuries they had imposed on every government the country had fallen under.

Like most of the Oriental Christian nations, the Copts are divided into two parties; the Catholics who have made their peace with Rome and acknowledge the authority of the pope, and the schismatics who have a patriarch of their own and are among the representatives of the Monophysite heresy, which for so long a period convulsed the church and the empire*. The wily Turk made use of the powerful engine of religious discord to excite jealousy between the two parties, and by alternately favouring one and the other, succeeded at length in finding out their secrets, and in making himself independent of both. Having secured to himself the means of managing the revenue for the future, he then proceeded to extort from the late financiers some of their ill-gotten wealth. The intrepidity and patience with which many of these victims

* See Gibbon, chap. 47.

endured the most cruel tortures rather than disclose their own treasures and those of their fellow-countrymen, would in another cause have procured them the crown of martyrdom; but in these countries the love of money is the sole spring of action, and even the virtues can be called into exercise by sordid motives alone. The concealment of their wealth till it was wrung from them by stripes, seems to have been the point of honour among these Coptic scribes, as it was among their forefathers in ancient times*. One of them in Upper Egypt is said to have endured the repeated tortures of the bastinado from sunrise to sunset before he disclosed his secret, which he did at last, saying "I think I have now suffered enough for my nation:"—and the Malim Ghaly, the chief of the Catholic party, who was now at the head of the treasury, had himself received a thousand stripes on the soles of his feet before he would consent to pay the fine imposed upon him.

February 1.—We set out at day-break and rode to Old Cairo, from whence we crossed the river to Gizeh. We there found a number of Arabs with asses, eagerly offering their services to conduct us to "Gebal Faroun" or the Mountains of Pharaoh, as they call the Pyramids. About an hour's ride over a well cultivated plain interscected by numerous

* "It was held disgraceful by the ancient Egyptians not to be able to exhibit stripes upon their body for a denial of the tribute."—See quotations from Ælian and Ammianus Marcellinus, in Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, page 309.

canals brought us to the edge of the Desert, and in half an hour more we arrived at the foot of those stupendous monuments.

In common I believe with all persons who have visited them we were at first disappointed. The gradual approach over an extended plain diminishes in great measure the effect which their vast magnitude would otherwise produce, and the pyramidal form, however beautiful, is not so well calculated to give an idea of great height as a taper spire. It is not till they have been surveyed in different points of view, and till the comparative insignificance of every surrounding object animate and inanimate has been observed, that the mind becomes fully awake to their simple grandeur. They are most impressive perhaps when contemplated in the stillness and solitude of the night. Their dimensions seem magnified in the clear dark sky, and we feel a sentiment approaching to awe on reflecting that we are in the presence of the most ancient, the most authentic, and the most celebrated wonders of the world, and on the very spot perhaps where "the chief and the philosopher and the poet of the times of old" have stood to gaze and admire like ourselves.

To explore the interior of the great pyramid, which in former times was a difficult undertaking, had lately been rendered easy by the exertions of Captain Caviglia, a Genoese, who had caused some of the principal passages to be cleared of the rub-

bish which blocked them up, and in so doing had discovered the mystery of the well, which since the days of Pliny* had been the object of so much speculation, and which seems in reality to have been merely a private way left by the workmen to communicate immediately from the lower to the upper chamber. The principal passages and galleries which lead to the great chamber where the sarcophagus is deposited, are composed of immense blocks of granite put together with great exactness. The chamber itself is thirty-six feet long, twelve wide, and twenty high; and nothing perhaps can give a more lively idea of the magnitude of the building, than its having been found upon calculation, after allowing a sufficient thickness for external and partition walls, to be capable of containing more than three thousand chambers of the same dimensions†. Whether any others actually exist it would be very difficult to decide; but it seems a more probable supposition, that the immense mass was designed as a sepulchre for a single individual.

The ascent to the top of the great Pyramid, though laborious from the height of the external blocks which form the steps, is neither difficult nor dangerous. The view from the summit stretches to the westward over the sands of the Libyan desert, and is varied on the eastward by the green fields of the Delta and the spires of Cairo. At sunrise and sunset it is curious to observe the vast extent of

* Hist. Nat. 36, 16. † See Quarterly Review.

the shadow which the building throws over the plain. The platform at the top is about twelve feet square, and every stone is covered with the names of persons who have been anxious to record their visit. Many of these are of the greatest distinction; and it is natural enough even for more obscure individuals to attempt to give a sort of immortality to their own name, by inscribing it on these imperishable monuments.

The second pyramid, commonly called that of Cephrenes, had been opened the year before by Belzoni, who has given in his Travels a minute and interesting account of his operations, and of the discoveries they led to. It is nearly as lofty as that of Cheops, but differs from it both in its external construction and interior arrangement. The outside was originally faced with slabs of granite, and a part of this casing still remains near the top, whereas it is very doubtful whether the larger pyramid was ever in a more finished state than we now see it, as no fragments of granite are scattered round its base, and the layers of masonry are more regular. The entrance into both is at the same height from the ground; but in the great pyramid the principal chamber is higher up in the building, and you ascend to it from the entrance; while in the other it is cut in the rock, and the avenue of course slopes downward.

The colossal statue of the Sphinx is seated at some distance to the north-east of the pyramids. A

large space round it had been excavated by Mr. Salt the year before, and some curious remains and inscriptions, chiefly Roman, were discovered, but nothing which could throw any clear light on its original design. The sand soon rushed into the chasm; and the figure, now again buried to the shoulders, remains to exercise the ingenuity of some future Œdipus.

CHAPTER VI.

VOYAGE UP THE NILE.

HAVING visited the principal objects of curiosity in Cairo and the neighbourhood, we began to make preparations for a voyage up the Nile. Mr. Jowett agreed to take Pearce with him in his boat, and I hired as an interpreter a Greek called Constantino Dracopolo, a fine-looking fellow gaily dressed *à la Turque*, but who, in spite of his promising appearance and high-sounding name, turned out as vain and useless a poltroon as I ever met with.

We each engaged a cangia at the rate of four hundred piastres, or about ten pounds, a month, including every expense; the crew consisting of the reis or commander, and seven or eight Arab sailors. The cangia is an open boat with a latticed cabin at the stern. This in mine was just large enough to contain a bedstead made of light basket-work, which served for a sofa in the day-time, a couple of chairs, and a small table, upon which the dishes were placed by means of a trap door, like a buttery-hatch, cut in the front. An awning of palm leaves on the outside formed the servants' apartment, and before the mast was a large lump of kneaded clay hollowed out in the middle, which served for kitchen range, and in windy weather often put the patience of the cook to severe trial.

As bread, dry fowls, and lean sheep, are the only provisions to be procured in Upper Egypt, it was necessary to lay in a supply of other articles beforehand. Our stores consisted chiefly of rice, and of the dried apricots of Damascus called Mish-mish, which when boiled have a very agreeable flavour, and are considered very wholesome. I had provided myself at Alexandria with a stock of light Medoc wine, the moderate use of which is a great preservative of health in hot climates; and I had also procured from an English vessel in the harbour a quantity of porter and of port wine. The former, though most refreshing and invigorating after a long day's exercise in a broiling sun, is too strong and heavy to be frequently indulged in with impunity. The latter I was glad to have the power of dispensing occasionally to persons suffering from dysentery, the prevailing disease of the country, for which it may be considered as almost a specific. To these were added a liberal allowance of Latakia tobacco and some canisters of gunpowder for presents.

The narrative of a voyage on the Nile cannot be very entertaining, the incidents being little more than a repetition of rowing and towing, fair and contrary winds, now and then running on a sand-bank, and occasionally a mutiny of the boatmen. The police of the country was at this time so good, and such perfect tranquillity prevailed, that there were no "hair-breadth 'scapes," no attacks from

thieves or banditti to be recorded, as in the times of the older travellers. The voyage from Cairo to the Cataracts might be performed with as much security, and almost with as much ease, as an excursion on the Thames; and in my progress up and down the Nile, I fell in with not less than five or six parties of Englishmen, and several of other Europeans.

We slept on board our boats on the night of the 6th of February; and the next morning, after some difficulty in collecting the sailors, most of whom had stolen away during the night to take leave of their wives and sweethearts, we left our moorings. Since our voyage from Rosetta the river had fallen considerably; the sand-banks appeared more frequently, and the channel was in many places much contracted. On this and the following day we made very little progress, as either the wind was contrary or it was a dead calm, and the men were obliged to drag the boat.

On the 9th, early in the morning, we anchored near a little village where another boat was lying, which we were told belonged to some Europeans. On going ashore, I saw walking towards us a man of colossal size, dressed in handsome Turkish clothes, and with a fine flowing beard. It was Belzoni, whom we now saw for the first time. He addressed us with great frankness, and invited us on board his boat, where he showed us the renowned alabaster sarcophagus from the tomb of Psammis, and the original casts from the bas-reliefs which

were afterwards exhibited in London and Paris. We passed the morning very agreeably in listening to his account of the discoveries he had made in Upper Egypt and Nubia, with the details of which we were hitherto unacquainted; and we regretted that he was not now proceeding in the same direction with ourselves.

10th.—We had an opportunity of witnessing the true Egyptian sirocco, which set in this afternoon. The air became dark and murky, as if from the effect of an eclipse, or rather perhaps of a thick London fog. The atmosphere was loaded with clouds of sand of so fine and penetrating a quality, that almost in an instant, our tables, our books and our clothes, were covered with it; while the wind, hot as the breath of a furnace, produced a parched and clammy feeling on the skin, and a feverishness throughout the whole frame, which can hardly be conceived by those who have not felt it. The slightest clothing seemed a burden, and the only refreshment we could find was from continual bathing in the river.

12th.—We first observed the wheat harvest beginning.

14th.—The weather having been for the last twenty-four hours exceedingly sultry, a slight breeze at length sprung up from the north, for the first time since we had left Cairo. We took advantage of it, and instead of coming to an anchor in the evening as was our usual custom, we kept on through

the night, and arrived early the next morning at Minieh, one of the principal towns of the Lower Said. Here we met Mr. Brine, an Englishman who superintended the pasha's sugar-works at Erramouni a little higher up the river. He was making a circuit of the neighbouring villages to collect from the "fellahs," or peasants, the raw sugar which they extract from the canes, and which was afterwards refined at his manufactory. He gave us a pressing invitation to his house, and we promised to pay him a visit.

16th.—About the middle of the day we reached the village of Shekh Abadie, near which are the remains of Antinoë, a city founded by Adrian in memory of his favourite Antinoüs, who was drowned near the spot. An avenue of columns leads from the river to the western gate, which consisted of three arches, and is still tolerably perfect. From thence a street ran east and west through the city, and was intersected near the centre by another running north and south. The intersection or quadrivium is marked by the pedestals of four Corinthian pillars, the shafts of which have been thrown down; and near the northern gate are four other columns similarly placed, which probably denote the site of a forum or some place of public assembly. One of them is still standing, and has an inscription on its base "To the good fortune of Marcus Aurelius." The principal streets appear to have been lined on each side with a row of columns of small

dimensions, supporting perhaps a portico in front of the houses. Of the eastern gate two piers only are standing; but there are many fragments of capitals, friezes, and cornices scattered on the ground. Between the east gate and the quadrivium are large remains of a temple or temples. The south gate is in good preservation, and is by far the best specimen of architecture that remains. It had originally six fine fluted Corinthian pillars and two pilasters, but only three are now standing. Near it is a theatre built against the side of the rock, and commanding a view of a bold bend of the river, which sweeps round the fertile plain on which the city is placed. With the exception of the avenue of columns leading from the river, and a few others, these constructions are all of soft stone; but many fragments of granite and marble are scattered about, together with vast quantities of bricks and pottery. The Corinthian order prevails, though it is occasionally intermixed with the Ionic, and the style of architecture in general indicates the declining taste of the Antonine age. The ruins, however, are interesting, both from historical associations and because they are sufficiently well preserved to give a perfect idea of the arrangement of a Roman city.

The stock of clothes which I had brought with me from Europe being nearly exhausted, I assumed to-day the Oriental dress, which I continued to wear all the time I remained in the Levant. I do not, however, in general recommend its adop-

tion, except in those places where the prejudices of the people render it necessary: for although the superior dignity and grace which it gives to the figure may flatter the personal vanity of the wearer, its cumbrousness will constantly check his activity, and multiply the temptations to indolence which in a hot country are always sufficiently abundant. There is one circumstance, however, which may recommend it to *some* travellers;—the change of appearance effected by the resumption of the Frank costume is so complete, that it will enable them, on their return to Europe, safely to avoid noticing those persons with whom in the East they may have been connected by the ties of familiarity or obligation, but whom it may not be agreeable to recognise in more polite countries.

17th.—We passed the day at Erramouni, or Radamouni as it is sometimes called. Mr. Brine was not yet returned, but we received every attention and hospitality from his lady and numerous household. The sugar manufactory and rum distillery over which he presided, employed about fifty workmen, collected from various countries: Turks and Arabs, Frenchmen and Englishmen, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Greeks and Ragusans, composed the motley assemblage.

We were provided with horses to ride to Ashmounien, a village at about two miles distant, on the site of the ancient Hermopolis, one of the most considerable cities in Egypt. It is remarkable for

a magnificent portico consisting of twelve columns, placed in two rows, with their architraves entire. They are nearly fifty feet high, and thirty in circumference at the widest part. They swell suddenly from the base; the surface is perpendicularly indented or reeded, and they are encircled at equal distances by horizontal bands, composed of five narrow fillets cut in the stone. The grandeur and simplicity of their style, and their advantageous situation on an eminence detached from all other buildings, give them a very imposing appearance; and their effect was heightened by their being the first specimens of Egyptian architecture to which we were introduced, and from the contrast which they exhibit to the diminutive style of the ruins at Antinoë which we had just visited.

The day was extremely sultry, and about noon there was a slight shower, which in this district was thought rather a singular circumstance. An Italian who accompanied us in our ride, and who had lived four years at Erramouni, told us it was the first rain he had seen there. In the evening we took leave of our hosts: but their kindness was not confined to their own roof, for on returning to our boat we found that they had sent us two sheep, together with a supply of rum and sugar, and some very fine potatoes and other European vegetables, which we had not tasted for a long time.

About Erramouni the scenery on the right bank of the Nile assumes a different character. Bold

cliffs towering over a vast extent of flat country present themselves in different points of view, as the river winds through the plain at a less or greater distance, and a fine effect of colour is produced by the contrast of their light sandy hue with the bright blue of the sky above them, and with the deep green of the palms and sycamores at their base. Soon after we embarked a breeze sprung up from the northward, which during the night freshened into so strong a gale, that I was not without some alarm for the safety of the boat, the large cumbrous sail requiring so much time to shift or lower it, that I thought we could scarcely escape being driven on shore. We succeeded at length, however, in mooring under the shelter of a small island; and in the morning the wind had moderated to a favourable breeze, which wafted us rapidly past Manfalout, and brought us in the evening to the port of Siout.

19th.—In the morning we rode up to the town, which is about a mile distant from the river, and paid a visit to Dr. Marrucchi, a Piedmontese physician and agent to the English consul. By his assistance we procured a fresh supply of money from the Armenian Saraff or government banker, who having continually occasion to make remittances to Cairo, is always ready to cash bills on that place. Siout has succeeded to Girgeh as the metropolis and seat of government of Upper Egypt. It is only of late years that it has thus advanced into consequence, and it has a more modern appear-

ance than most of the Egyptian towns. It was necessary to provide ourselves with a fresh teschereh or passport, to pursue our voyage into the Upper Country; and to obtain this we went accompanied by Dr. Marrucchi to pay a visit to the governor, whom we found, according to ancient custom, "sitting at the gate." He was a handsome man of about forty years of age, son-in-law to Mahomet Ali, and distinguished by the title of Defterdar Bey. He was surrounded by a number of his officers; and beside him on the divan lay a number of pistols and fowling-pieces, chiefly of English make. These he handed to us one by one, and asked our opinion upon them; and during almost all the time we stayed with him his conversation turned upon fire-arms, in the use of which he was said to be exceedingly dexterous. He was very polite in his manners, and ordered our passports to be given us immediately.

20th.—We passed El Gour, the ancient Antæopolis, where a few years back were considerable remains of a very beautiful temple. Part of the building, however, had been washed away by the overflowing of the river, and part removed, in order that the materials might be employed on Ibrahim Pasha's palace at Gizeh. One solitary column alone now remained, half-buried among the ruins of its companions, whose fate it soon afterwards shared. This evening for the first time we saw a crocodile: it was a small one, not exceeding ten feet

in length, and lay quietly on a sand-bank till we came within twenty yards of it, when it crawled slowly into the river. These animals are seldom found below Siout.

21st.—We went ashore for a short time at Akmim, which was formerly a place of consequence, and one of the most considerable ports on the Nile. It is one of the stations of the missionaries of the Terra Santa, and a Franciscan friar resides there. In the evening we passed Girgeh, which was formerly the capital of Upper Egypt, but which, since the seat of government has been transferred to Siout, has fallen to decay. It has still, however, a large bazar, and a garrison of four hundred Albanians. A number of handsome minarehs bespeak its ancient importance.

22nd.—As we ascended the river, the villages were less thickly scattered along its banks. We met today a large bark belonging to the wife of some person of distinction in Morocco, who was returning with her suite from Mecca. In the evening we passed Farshiout, at some distance from which to the westward are the remains of the ancient Abydos.

23rd.—Today we observed the doum-tree, a species of the palm tribe, but differing from the common date-tree both in its general appearance, which is more stunted and bushy, and in the shape of its leaves, which are shorter and more indented. It bears a sort of fruit about the size, shape, and

colour of a potatoe, but so hard that it rather resembles wood. By boiling, however, we were told that some sustenance might be extracted from it.

24th.—It was a perfect calm, and the heat was so great that in the cabin, where there was always a slight current of air, the thermometer varied between eighty and ninety. In spite of this high temperature, however, our men worked with great cheerfulness, dragging the boat or rowing as circumstances required. The latter labour they accompanied according to their usual custom with a sort of chaunt. One of the crew is generally an *improvisatore*, and he begins by singing a short song, which often alludes to some passing occurrence of the day. The others repeat this in chorus, or sometimes invent a response of their own. Their music is shrill and inharmonious, but it afforded some relief to the *ennui* which the slowness of our progress could scarcely fail to occasion.

About noon one of the boatmen suddenly cried out "Timsar, Timsar!" "A crocodile, A crocodile!" and I soon espied six or eight very large ones coiled up, and basking or asleep on a sand-bank in the middle of the river. They permitted us to approach within about two hundred yards, when they seemed reluctantly to rouse themselves, and crawled slowly into the water. One of them kept floating round the boat for some time, now and then raising his snout above the surface. We fired several shots at him, but without effect.

In the afternoon we arrived at the little village of Denderah, on the western bank of the river, which still retains its ancient name, and is situated as of old amid a large grove of palm-trees*. The peasants soon assembled, bringing with them some half-starved asses, on which we rode to the temples, which are about two miles inland, just at the edge of the Desert. In former times it is probable that cultivation extended to the foot of the mountains, which are about two miles further, but the intervening space has in the progress of ages been overwhelmed by the accumulation of sand.

The temples of Denderah have been celebrated by all travellers as among the most beautiful on the banks of the Nile; and so far as regards the elegance of their proportions, the multiplicity and richness of their ornaments, and the minute and perfect finishing of every part, they must be admitted to be unrivalled, although they may want some of those beauties of a higher order which are to be found elsewhere. Passing through a lofty propylon, now much dilapidated, we arrived in front of the principal temple, dedicated to Isis. It has a portico supported by three rows of massive columns thirty feet high, with square capitals, on each side of which the face of the goddess was sculptured in high relief. Though every one of these has been defaced by Christian or Mahometan iconoclasts, yet enough remains to show that they were characterized by

* Umbrosis Tentyra palmis. Juv. Sat. 15.

that tranquil style of beauty which the Egyptian artists were fond of expressing, and which seemed particularly appropriate to the character of that benevolent deity. Behind the portico is a range of small gloomy apartments; and a stone staircase leads to the roof and to an upper range of chambers. The roof is composed of very large blocks of stone, supported by the walls and columns: one of them which I measured was twenty-five feet long, eight wide, and as many in thickness. On the ceiling of one of the upper rooms we saw the famous circular zodiac, first noticed by the *savans* who accompanied Buonaparte, and which has since been the subject of so much learned disquisition. It was now so blackened by the torches of the curious, that the figures were scarcely distinguishable. About three years afterwards an enterprising Frenchman projected its removal. He repaired to Cairo without avowing his purpose, and took his measures with so much promptitude and secrecy, that before the rival collectors even suspected his design, the stones of the ceiling were already on their way to Alexandria; and the zodiac may now be seen on the floor of one of the saloons of the Louvre.

Every part of the temple, both within and without, the walls, the ceilings, the columns, and the cornices, are covered with a profusion of bas-reliefs, which is truly astonishing. Deities, kings, priests, processions, sacrifices, and a variety of other subjects, present themselves in perpetual succession. Some

of the female figures in these representations are well designed, and there is a great delicacy and softness of expression in the countenances; but they have the stiffness of attitude which belongs to almost all the later works of the Egyptians. In their likenesses of the brute creation the artists were generally very successful, and we observed some lion's heads on the outside of the temple which might almost rival Canova's.

At some distance from the great temple is another propylon, buried in sand and rubbish to within a few feet of the architrave. The temple to which it conducted is in ruins; but there still remains a smaller one, which has been supposed to have been dedicated to Typhon, as there are figures of that monster on the capitals. It was, however, in reality sacred to Horus or Harpocrates the son of Isis and Osiris; and the little deity is to be found represented in the interior of the temple with his finger on his lip, perched lightly on the cup of a lotus.

These temples are all built of a sandstone of no very great hardness, which in any other climate would long ago have lost every trace of the workman's hand; whereas here all the angles are as sharp, and many of the bas-reliefs as perfect, as on the day they were executed. On the cornice of the great temple is a Greek inscription to Tiberius, and on one of the propyla a similar one to Antoninus Pius. When the Egyptian temples were

universally considered to have been built by the native sovereigns of the country, and to have been all anterior to the age of Alexander at least, if not of Cambyses, these and other inscriptions of the same class were supposed only to commemorate their having been repaired or beautified by Greek or Roman princes. Mr. Hamilton was, I believe, one of the first writers who attributed the erection of many of them to the Ptolemies, or even to a later æra*, and who conjectured that the dedications were in some cases at least coeval with the buildings. This is now the received opinion; and the Greek inscriptions, combined with an accurate observation of the different styles of architecture and of sculpture, have afforded a clue by which a practised eye may judge of the comparative antiquity of many edifices, as to the date of which even conjecture was once thought hopeless. We remained at the temple till late in the evening and rode back by moonlight, and afterwards crossed the river to Kenneh, where we moored for the night.

25th.—Kenneh is a place of considerable importance, being the principal point of communication between the Nile and the Red Sea. It is provided with excellent baths and a good bazar, and has all the bustle and activity of a port town, with a corresponding dissoluteness of manners. In the outskirts

* An inscription found by Mr. W. Bankes near Esneh, shows that the art of hieroglyphic writing was known and practised as late as the reigns of the Antonines.

we observed several encampments of Mogrebins, who were returning from Mecca; and we were told that ten thousand pilgrims from different nations passed every year through the town. A garrison of four or five hundred men is stationed there, for the supply of escorts to Cosseir on the Red Sea, which is three days' journey. Kenneh is also remarkable for its extensive potteries. Almost all the earthenware used in Egypt is made there, and it is not uncommon to see floating down the river large rafts composed of pots, jars, and pipkins, fastened together with leaves of the date-tree, with the owners and their families embarked upon them.

On the right bank of the river above Kenneh were situated the towns of Coptos and Apollinopolis, successively the emporia of the trade to Berenice on the Red Sea, which in modern times has been transferred to Kenneh and Cosseir. The name of Coptos is preserved in the modern one of Keft, and there are extensive ruins of the ancient town. Apollinopolis is now called Kous, and has also some remains of antiquity. We did not visit either of these places, but proceeded up the river, and arrived in the evening at Gournou, a village on the western bank, and near the northern boundary of the plain of Thebes.

From the vast extent of this plain and the great distance which intervenes between the different monuments which are scattered over it, it seems a probable supposition that ancient Thebes was not

one regularly walled city, but that it consisted of a number of contiguous towns or hamlets. It now presents a somewhat similar appearance on a reduced scale, as almost every temple is surrounded by a village. That of Gournou, which is sometimes called El Ebek, is at no great distance from the foot of the western or Libyan mountains, which at this spot approach within three quarters of a mile of the river. Like all the sacred edifices of the Egyptians, it consists of a portico with a range of apartments behind it: but it differs from most of them in having only one row of columns to support the portico, and the inner chambers are smaller than usual. It is considered to be one of the most ancient temples, but in its present state it is not one of the most magnificent. From its vicinity to the river the columns have become nearly half-buried in the alluvial soil; and having been used by the natives as a place of retreat, it is much clogged up with dirt and rubbish, and has altogether a dilapidated appearance.

From Gournou a road leads up a ravine in the mountains to an open space surrounded on all sides by steep rocks, in which are excavated the tombs of the Egyptian kings. All of them that have hitherto been discovered are nearly on the same plan. A broad passage leads into one or more lofty saloons which are flanked by smaller chambers, and the walls are richly ornamented with paintings, alluding to the mysterious doctrines and ceremo-

nies of the Egyptian religion, and showing at how early a period the human mind had begun to indulge in speculation as to its future state and destiny.

By far the most interesting of these sepulchres is that called the Tomb of Psammis, which had been recently opened by Belzoni, and is fully described in his work. Never having been exposed to the air or to wanton injury, the paintings are in perfect preservation, and their colours are as brilliant as the first day they were put on. One apartment appears never to have been finished, as the figures all remain in outline; but this is so fresh, that it seems as if the artist had but just quitted his work and was about to return to complete it. The passage that leads into the tomb slopes downwards, and on the sides there are various groups of figures, among which is distinguished the deceased prince, who appears to be going through various initiatory ceremonies previously to being admitted into the society of the Gods. The passage opens into a vestibule supported by six massive square pillars, where the deities are represented welcoming the hero to their abodes, and Isis is presenting him with the "crux ansata," the emblem of sovereignty. Within the vestibule is the apartment where the sarcophagus was deposited; a lofty oblong hall with a vaulted ceiling, on which are painted some uncouth figures, supposed to have reference to astronomy.

In one of the side chambers are depicted the trophies of the deceased. Captives dressed in the various costumes of the conquered countries, among which it has been thought that Jews, Persians, and Ethiopians may be recognised, are led along in procession with their arms tied behind them. Some of them are bending down, and await the stroke of the executioner; the heads of others are already seen rolling at his feet; and the whole scene attests the barbarity of ancient warfare. The largest of the tombs now open is that described by Mr. Bruce, who first introduced the merits of Egyptian painting to the incredulity of modern Europe; and the well-known figures of the Harpers are still to be seen there. Its plan and dimensions are more magnificent than those of the other tombs, and the paintings in the grand apartments are in a bolder and more flowing style. In the galleries or smaller apartments on each side of the principal entrance there are also some subjects which are more interesting than the continual repetition of gods and heroes, as they illustrate the private life and domestic œconomy of the Egyptians. Among these are delineations of different articles of dress and furniture, arms, armour, culinary utensils, and agricultural implements. As this tomb, however, has been open for ages, and has been made a dwelling place occasionally by the native troglodytes, the drawings are very much defaced, and the colouring is entirely faded.

At the extremity of the inner chamber a passage leads further into the rock; but on our attempting to explore it a legion of bats sallied forth, and flying directly at our lights, extinguished them in an instant, and covered us with such a cloud of dust that we were glad to retire.

Of the forty tombs which were reported to exist when Strabo wrote, about ten or twelve are now open. They are in different states of preservation, but they are all curious from the infinite variety of the representations on their walls.

From the Bab el Maluk, or "gate of the kings," (as this valley of sepulchres is called,) a steep path leads to the ridge of the mountains, from whence there is a view of the whole plain of Thebes with its various antiquities, and a fine reach of the Nile. The eastern face of the mountains is one vast cemetery, and in descending into the plain we continually passed the openings of the mummy pits, and almost stumbled over the bodies which had been extracted from them. Some of them still remained in their original grave-clothes; some were stripped of all their cerements and yet remained entire; and others had been broken into fragments and scattered about, exhibiting altogether a most disgusting spectacle. The resinous substance with which the cavities of the head and trunk were filled in the process of embalming is used for various purposes, and the profits arising from the sale of it are sufficient to induce the savage natives thus to violate the repose

of the tomb. Their labours are sometimes better rewarded, by the discovery of the more curious mummies which are sought for by travellers and collectors.

We reached the plain at a spot several miles to the southward of Gournou, and proceeded to the Medinet Abou, which is about equidistant from the mountains and the river. The vast mass of buildings known by that name is so choked up with the ruins of more modern brick structures, that it is difficult to discover its original design. It is supposed to have comprised a royal palace and two temples, the largest of which is the most magnificent to be found in the western division of Thebes. It was approached by two gateways connected by a colonnade on each side, together forming a quadrangle. Within the inner gate is the portico of the temple, on the walls of which is a series of bas-reliefs, representing battles, sieges, and triumphal processions, frightful from the barbarities which they exhibit as practised on the vanquished, but remarkable for the spirit and freedom with which they are executed. They stamp the temple of Medinet Abou as being among the most ancient Egyptian monuments, and as having been constructed while Egypt was still a warlike and conquering nation. When she became a Greek or Roman province, the sculptor had no longer this animating field for the exercise of his genius; and we accordingly find it cramped and stiffened in the

later edifices, by being confined to the monotonous repetition of priests, sacrifices, religious pageants,

"Omnigenûmque Deûm monstra."

From Medinet Abou we kept along the plain in a northern direction, and soon arrived at the two colossal figures which now sit solitary at the edge of the desert, but which once probably formed the head of an avenue of statues conducting to a vast building long since totally destroyed. The foundations of it were excavated by Belzoni; and it has been thought, not perhaps without reason, to have been the famous Memnonium, the ancient description of which cannot be satisfactorily applied to any of the buildings now in existence. The northernmost of these colossal figures was the vocal statue of Memnon, the object of so much learned discussion. From the accounts of the ancient writers, and from the number of inscriptions on the statue recording the names of the persons who had heard the "magical sounds," their existence may be pronounced to be as well attested as any historical fact can be. How they were produced is still undecided; but the most probable supposition refers them to the influence of the sun causing some expansion or contraction in the stone of which the statue is composed. Some modern travellers, I believe, assert that they have actually heard them; and Mr. Salt told me that he was once surprised by a similar effect among the ruins of Denderah.

Still pursuing a northern course along the plain,

we arrived at the ruins which the French called the Memnonium, and which are still known generally by that name. They are among the most beautiful at Thebes, and their effect is the finer from their being unencumbered with huts or rubbish. Thirty-five larger and eleven smaller columns are still standing, and eight figures resembling caryatids support a part of the walls of the portico, which are covered with bas-reliefs of battles and sieges, like those at Medinet Abou, and possessing equal merit in the execution. It was from this temple that the colossal head now in the British Museum was taken, and in front of it there is a statue of red granite of still more enormous proportions, but prostrate and broken.

A short ride took us from hence back to Gournou, and we returned to our boats fatigued with twelve hours' exertion under a scorching sun, and almost overpowered with the variety and grandeur of the objects which we had visited. At night we crossed over to Luxor, a large village about a mile and a half higher up the river, and near the southern extremity of eastern Thebes. The magnificent temple there is so encumbered with modern buildings that it is difficult to make out its plan; but it seems to have comprised several courts, surrounded by colonnades. Fourteen lofty columns with lotus-shaped capitals still remain, and about ninety smaller ones. There is a profusion of historical bas-reliefs on the walls of the propylon, and in front of it are

two colossal granite figures, now buried nearly up to the neck, and two obelisks of the same material, the finest probably in existence. They are nearly ninety feet high, and the figures on them are beautifully cut, and in perfect preservation.

To the northward of Luxor is the village of Carnak, supposed to represent that division of ancient Thebes which was called Diospolis. The great temple there, as its name implies, was dedicated to Jupiter Ammon, and the Egyptians seem to have called forth all the resources of wealth and all the efforts of art to make it worthy of their supreme divinity. A double range of colossal sphinxes extended across the plain from the temple of Luxor, a distance of more than a mile, and terminated in a most magnificent gateway fifty feet high, which still remains unimpaired. From this gateway the great temple was approached by a large court divided by an avenue of fifty lofty columns, one of which only now remains, leading to a vast propylon in front of the portico. The interior of the portico presents a *coup d'œil* which is generally acknowledged to be superior in effect to any other that is to be found among the remains of Egyptian architecture. Twelve columns sixty feet high and of a beautiful order, form an avenue through the centre of the building, like the nave of a Gothic cathedral, and they are flanked on each side by sixty smaller ones, ranged in six rows, which are seen through their intervals in endlesss perspective. The walls

are covered with bas-reliefs of a similar character with those in the other ancient temples, in all of which a great resemblance may be observed in the countenance of the principal hero, whether we suppose him to be Osymandyas, or Memnon, or Sesostris.

In an open space beyond the portico there were four obelisks, two only of which are now standing; and beyond these again was the adytum or sanctuary, consisting of three small chambers, all built with granite. The walls are covered with the usual religious or mystical representations, among which the boat said to have been dedicated by Sesostris to the Theban Jupiter is seen borne on the shoulders of the priests.

Besides the large temple, the sacred precinct which surrounded it comprised several smaller ones, with various galleries and porticos connecting them together; and the area is covered with prostrate columns, statues, caryatids, sphinxes, and vast masses of hewn stown piled one upon another, and giving an idea of the original magnitude and splendour of the buildings which no description can adequately convey*.

29th.—About ten miles to the southward of

* Descriptions of ancient buildings are to the generality of readers most uninteresting, and I have therefore passed them over as slightly as I could. Ample details of all the Egyptian temples may be found in Mr. Hamilton's learned and accurate work, which, at the distance of twenty years from its publication, is still the best manual for a voyage on the Nile.

Thebes are the ruins of the ancient Hermenthis, and the remains of a very beautiful temple dedicated to Typhon the evil genius of the Egyptian mythology.

March 1st.—We arrived at Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, where there is a large and handsome temple, remarkable for a very curious and elaborate zodiac on the ceiling of the portico. The columns are buried in rubbish to half their height, and the adytum is quite inaccessible from the same cause.

Opposite to Esneh, on the eastern bank of the river, the small temple of Contra Laton remains, in very good preservation.

Esneh being the last considerable town that we should pass in our voyage up the Nile, it was necessary to provide there some supplies for our projected excursion into Nubia. We accordingly went to the governor, and on showing him our tescheré he immediately gave us an order to take whatever flour we wanted from the pasha's magazines. This, however, we found of little avail till we had gained the favour of the storekeeper by a handsome *bacsheesh;* and the delays which he had previously thrown in the way, joined to the slow process of baking the flour into biscuits, detained us for the greater part of two days.

4th.—We visited Edfu, the ancient Apollinopolis, a large village situated on a low level plain at the distance of more than a mile from the river. It has two temples, the largest of which, though much

encumbered by the accumulation of the soil, is complete in all its parts, and the most perfect model now remaining of the sacred edifices of the Egyptians. In front is a propylon upwards of a hundred feet high, ornamented with bas-reliefs of gigantic proportions. It forms one side of a court, or Pronaos as it is called, and is connected on each flank to the portico of the temple by a covered colonnade, now choked up with rubbish almost to the level of the capitals, so as but just to leave room for the miserable peasants to creep into the dens which they have made there. The portico is supported by eighteen columns, arranged in three rows; the roof is covered with mud-built huts, and the sanctuary, nearly filled with the ruins of similar frail habitations, is tenanted by bats only. The stairs in the interior of the propylon still remain entire, and conduct by an easy ascent to a number of small chambers, and to a terrace on the top, from whence there is an extensive view over the plain.

6th.—We passed the Gebal Silsilih, or "chained mountains," where the rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge, and are reported to have been once connected by an iron chain, to intercept the navigation in case of an invasion from the upper country. They are cut out on each side into architectural façades, which open into excavated tombs, temples, and quarries. From the vast extent of the latter, and from the facility of water-carriage which the situation affords, it is supposed that the greater

part of the materials employed in the Egyptian temples were taken from this spot.

We sailed by moonlight under the ruins of the temple of Coum Ombos, which still retains its ancient name, though the crocodile is no longer worshipped there. It is a Ptolemaic structure, and unlike most of the Egyptian temples, which are situated on the plains, it stands on the brow of a bold hill, and is a very fine object both in ascending and descending the river.

7th.—At night we reached Assouan, the ancient Syene, and the frontier town of Egypt. The next morning the Reis told me with great apparent concern, that the water was now so low that it would be impossible for the cangia to pass up the Cataracts, but that if I persisted in my intention of going into Nubia he would wait here for my return. I was rather disconcerted at this information; but as several of the inhabitants of the place whom I consulted, and among others the officer called the Reis el Shelal, or "commander of the Cataracts," agreed in the same story, I acceded to the proposal, and determined to pursue my journey by land. I found out afterwards, however, that the whole was a trick concerted by my Reis, who did not like the voyage into the upper country; and that if, instead of agreeing to retain him at Assouan, I had offered to pay him off and dismiss him immediately, it would soon have been discovered that the Cataracts were not impassable.

My dragoman also declined accompanying me any further, on the plea of ill health; though cowardice was I believe the real motive. Pearce, whose enterprising spirit was delighted with the thoughts of a journey into Ethiopia, offered to take his place; and I gladly accepted his services, having had many opportunities during our voyage of learning their value.

I had to regret the loss of Mr. Jowett's company, as he determined to wait Mr. Salt's return from Nubia, thinking that the objects of his mission would not be promoted by advancing further into the country. His success hitherto had been very limited, although here and there the native Christians had shown a disposition to purchase bibles. The banks of the Nile indeed do not seem to offer a very promising field for missionary labours. A pure and rational religion can scarcely be expected to make much progress among an oppressed and degraded people; but, like other benefits, must follow in the train of freedom, civilization, and good government. The Egyptians too in all ages appear to have been remarkably prone to superstition; and if, as we are told, the early converts to Christianity still retained many of their heathen observances, it is scarcely to be expected that their descendants in these later days should be persuaded to renounce their saints and their *Panagia**;—while the Musulman on the other hand, contented with a few simple precepts

* The Virgin Mary.

and prohibitions, will hardly be disposed to adopt what to him will appear a more complicated creed. In spite of these unfavourable circumstances, however, some good may perhaps be done. I should be sorry to join in a vulgar outcry against any class of persons who have the improvement of mankind for their object, still less would I quarrel with a Society to which I am indebted for two very agreeable travelling companions*.

* The Rev. Mr. Jowett, author of "Christian Researches," and the Rev. Mr. Connor; both agents to the Church Missionary Society.

CHAPTER VII.

NUBIA.—PHILÆ.

The only conveyances that Assouan could afford were asses and camels. We preferred the latter: and I found that the accounts I had heard of the roughness of their pace were much exaggerated; though I must admit that when they stoop or rise, at mounting or dismounting, the motion is very disagreeable. Four camels were sufficient for ourselves and baggage; and we were attended by three drivers and by an Arab boy, an arch mischievous-looking urchin, who offered his services as a volunteer. A traveller in these countries will find the number of his suite increase daily; and, as elsewhere, the labour is in an inverse ratio to the pay, almost all the work being done by those who receive nothing. If you are pleased with the activity of any supernumerary, and order him the smallest stipend,—a few paras a day for example,—he immediately becomes idle, and at the next village engages a volunteer to serve under him, who hopes in his turn to obtain a similar promotion.

March 9th.—On leaving Assouan we kept on the eastern bank of the river; and after descending from the low range of hills which stretch out on the southern side of the town, we passed a narrow

sandy valley, and from the summit of another range of hills beyond it we had a delightful view of the vale of Nubia, the windings of the river, and the little temple of Debode on the opposite shore. We slept on the sand near the river, under the shelter of some high Dourra, or Indian corn.

10th.—We saw on the other side of the river the little temple of Tafa, and passed the islands and cataracts of Kalapshé, where the scenery is more bold, sequestered and romantic, than any I had yet seen on the Nile. In the afternoon we arrived opposite the temple of Kalapshé, and saw some tents pitched near it, which we concluded to belong to the consul. We fired our pistols as a signal, and a boat soon arrived, in which I crossed over, accompanied by Pearce, leaving the servants in charge of the camels and baggage. Mr. Salt, though labouring under severe indisposition, received me with great politeness; and in the course of the evening's conversation communicated to me many interesting details of his voyage, and much useful information as to the different objects of curiosity which I was going to visit.

12th.—In the middle of the day we re-crossed the river, and resumed our journey. Towards the evening we passed the first Nubian village we had seen. It differed in appearance from the Egyptian villages, as the houses instead of mud were built with small rough stones, and were something in the shape of bee-hives. We travelled till after midnight,

and then reposed for a few hours under some trees by the river side.

13th.—In this day's journey we observed some large tracts of ground, which bore marks of having been very lately under cultivation; but which were now lying fallow, and fast relapsing into their native sand. The increased and oppressive imposts since the country has been occupied by the Turks, were assigned as the cause of this desertion. The practice of irrigation being universal, and indeed necessary to make the sandy soil at all productive, each farm is provided with a large water-wheel, called a Sakiah, which is worked by small cows or oxen, and serves to raise the water from the Nile. Of these there are reckoned eight hundred between Philæ and Wadi Elfi, and each pays a dollar a year to the government; a very impolitic mode of raising the revenue, as it must operate as a direct check on cultivation. It is not supposed, however, that the pasha derives more from this province than is sufficient to pay the stipends of the native chiefs and the expenses of the troops he is obliged to keep there. The military occupation of the country is his principal object.

We halted in the middle of the day near a village, and a great number of the natives soon collected round us. They are of a very dark copper colour, nearly approaching to black, with lively intelligent features, and forms of a symmetry and lightness which I have rarely seen surpassed. Many of them

had only a short petticoat like the American Indians; some were dressed in coarse brown linen shirts fastened round the waist; and some of the elder had a Mashlakh, or Arab cloak, thrown round them. Almost all of them had a short and broad sword attached to their left arm, a round shield made of the skin of the hippopotamus, and a long spear. Their hair inclines to woolliness, and is plaited in close twists or ringlets, which hanging down from the top of the head, and being cut off square just below the ears, very much resemble the *coiffure* of the sphinx, and of some of the figures in the tombs at Thebes. Their locks are strongly impregnated with grease; and one very handsome young man had added a large quantity of flour by way of powder, which, contrasted with the black hue of his skin, produced so grotesque an effect, that even his own countrymen could not forbear joining in the hearty laugh which we found it impossible to restrain when he presented himself. The women were unveiled, and appeared much less shy towards strangers than their Egyptian neighbours; but their manners, it is said, are not on that account the less correct. They are not indeed very inviting objects, but, like the females of most hot countries, are much inferior to the men in personal appearance. The people were universally civil and friendly, and brought us various excellent preparations of milk as presents, and some lambs and fowls for sale. The prices asked for these, however,

were so much higher than we had been accustomed to in Egypt, that we refused to buy them; but we were afterwards obliged to pay dearer. We had some difficulty in talking with the natives; the Berberin language, which they all speak, being totally different from the Arabic, and none of our party understanding it thoroughly.

In the course of the day we met a courier going from Deir to Assouan. He was a very striking figure, being dressed in the full costume of his country, which I have already described, and mounted on a Hadjeen camel, which came striding rapidly along. His saddle was made of wood and very small, and it had a forked pommel in front, so contrived that he might rest his legs in it alternately. We met also several small caravans of slaves from the interior of Africa.

14th.—We were now arrived at a great bend in the river, which, turning to the eastward above Deir, takes afterwards a southerly direction, and at this spot resumes its natural course to the north. The character of the country here entirely alters; a chain of mountains coming close to the water's edge, so as to prevent any passage along the shore.

This morning we were annoyed by a violent north wind, which brought with it such a cloud of dust that the horizon was quite obscured. We began indeed to be heartily tired of the mode of travelling we had adopted. Nature intended the camel for the plain; and in rough and hilly tracts such as we

were now compelled to pass over, he slides and stumbles so continually, that a rider even of the strongest nerves can scarcely be without alarm. In the course of the day we came to a defile between the rocks which was too narrow to allow the baggage to pass; and before the animal which carried it could be stopped, it was all hurled to the ground, together with the servant who was seated on the top of it. The man fortunately escaped with only a few bruises; but our apparatus was grievously deranged by the breaking of cords, straps, and baskets. As we had travelled too by forced marches, halting only for a few hours at midnight and in the great heat of the day, it may be supposed that our half-starved camels were nearly exhausted, and the naked feet of our attendants not a little sore. The poor fellows, however, kept on with much cheerfulness and alacrity; but they told us to-day that they did not think their beasts would be able to carry us beyond Deir, where the roads would become more rugged than they had yet been. They begged us therefore to let them off their bargain, and to hire a boat at Deir to pursue our expedition by water. We were very well disposed to accede to their request, our impatience to reach the second Cataracts being in some degree abated by the fatigue and inconvenience we had undergone.

It took us three hours to cross the mountain. The view from the summit is very fine, commanding a magnificent sweep of the river, with a rich

plain covered with groves of palm-trees, interspersed with the mud cottages of the village of Croosco on one side, and the temple of Amada standing on a sandy promontory on the other. The storm having abated, the sun shone out in great splendour, and gave us a full opportunity of enjoying this cheerful prospect as we slowly descended the western side of the mountain. We halted at mid-day at the village, and refreshed ourselves with some water-melons which we found growing wild in the sand, and some milk which the inhabitants brought to us. In the afternoon we resumed our journey. Our route lay through the grove of palm-trees which we had seen from the mountain; and about sunset we reached the outskirts of Deir, the capital of Nubia, a town so long and straggling that it was not till two hours afterwards that we arrived at the principal square or market-place. The population appeared very considerable; and in addition to the natives, the place was now occupied by a very numerous party of negro pilgrims from Sennaar, some of whom were sitting in groups, and others sleeping under the walls of the cottages. These people are quite black, tall, but very slightly made, and exceedingly meagre: they are a very inoffensive race, and have a simple and natural politeness in their manners. Their dress was merely a coarse shirt tied round their middle with a girdle, and their whole baggage consisted of a drinking-cup made of a small gourd. They depend for sup-

port almost entirely on the charity of the inhabitants of the countries through which they pass, and of the strangers whom they may chance to meet on their road: and the object of their journey, as well as their own good character, procures them so much respect, that these resources seldom fail them. Their pilgrimage consumes from three to four years: but the toils of those who survive to return to their native country, are repaid by the reputation of sanctity which they enjoy during the remainder of their lives.

About nine o'clock we arrived at the grand square, in the centre of which is an immense sycamore, under whose shade the chiefs of the tribe meet to deliberate on their affairs and administer justice to the people. It was too late to seek for a lodging, so we determined to bivouac for the night by the side of a large building which occupied one side of the square. We had scarcely unloaded our camels and spread our mats, when we received a visit from Hassan Cacheff, the governor of the place. This man was the son of a native chief, who had himself retired into the country above the Cataracts when his Nubian dominions were occupied by the troops of Mohammed Ali. The son made terms with the invaders, was invested with his father's dignities, and received, in the shape of a pension from the governor of Egypt, a part of his hereditary revenues. He inquired who we were, and what was the object of our journey, but did not give us

any invitation to his house. Soon after his departure, however, he sent us a supper consisting of a dish of rice, and stewed mutton.

15th.—The wind during the night rose into an absolute hurricane, so as almost to prevent us from having any sleep; and in the morning we found ourselves covered with drifted sand, which had insinuated itself through our clothes, and made us very uncomfortable. We went soon after sunrise to return the cacheff's visit, and found him in his divan surrounded by some of the principal inhabitants,—a swarthy, forbidding, ill-looking set. They bear but little resemblance to the other Nubian tribes, and are supposed to be descended from a colony of Turks, planted here at the first conquest of the country by Sultan Selim. Their dress consisted of a coarse white shirt, and one of blue over it; a mashlakh thrown over their shoulders, and a large red turban on the head. The cacheff was distinguished by one of fine white muslin, which he took care to tell us had been given him by the English consul,—a piece of information which he intended as a hint to arouse our dormant liberality. He received us on the whole in a very distant and haughty manner; but on our return to our quarters in the market-place, sent us another dish of rice and mutton.

Not being much satisfied with his behaviour, which gave us little hope that he would assist us in procuring a boat, or in any other object we had in

view, we determined to apply to the Turkish officer who commanded the little garrison stationed here. We went to his house, and found him sitting with some of his men in an open gallery which overlooked the river. He was an Albanian, and had not the smooth manners of the thorough-bred Turk; but he received us with civility, and told us we were welcome to take up our quarters in his barrack, which consisted of one large room opening out of the gallery where we had found him. He promised also to provide us with a boat for our voyage to Wadi Elfi, and said that he would have sent us in his own cangia, but that it was already gone up the river with a detachment of his men to collect the tribute. We had some difficulty in keeping up the conversation with him, as he spoke only Turkish and Greek, while Pearce knew nothing of either language, and I only a few sentences of the latter. On our telling him, however, of the cool reception we had met with from the cacheff, he said that he was a "κακος ανθρωπος*," and that the inhabitants were all "κλεφται†," by which I supposed him to mean, that they did all they could to cheat the revenue of which he was the collector. We conveyed our baggage to the barracks, and at sunset sat down to a very good supper, of pillaff and other dishes. The party consisted of the Aga and five other Albanians, Pearce, and myself. All subordination and difference of rank between officers and men seemed

* A bad man. † Thieves.

to be forgotten as soon as they sat down to eat; and after supper they became very merry, and indulged in various practical jokes. One of them, who came in after our arrival, understood Arabic tolerably well; so that Pearce being able to translate my English into that language, which the Albanian rendered into Greek for the Aga, we managed to keep up a conversation during the evening. About midnight the soldiers withdrew; Pearce and myself occupied a divan at one end of the room, and the Aga slept at the other end, with a little black slave-boy at his feet.

16th.—Early in the morning I visited a small temple excavated in the rocks at the back of the town. It is supposed to be of great antiquity; but though it has suffered much from the effects of time, several groups of figures and processions, and some hieroglyphics, remain in tolerable preservation. It consists of two chambers, one within the other; the outer one supported by twelve, and the inner by six square piers or columns.

We thought it prudent to conciliate the Aga by presenting him with a canister of fine English powder and some squares of soap, both of which articles are very much in request: and he soon after sent for the proprietor of a little boat, which was moored close under the windows, and had not a very promising appearance. Finding however, after some conversation, that no other was to be procured, we agreed for a moderate sum with the reis

to take us to the Upper Cataract, and if we were unable to penetrate further, to convey us back to Philæ. As soon as we had concluded the agreement we dismissed our camel-drivers, and gave them a letter to the Aga at Assouan, expressing our satisfaction at their behaviour, and our reasons for sending them back. This letter, they told us, was necessary for them, as they durst not return without being able to give an account of the Franks who had been committed to their charge.

This morning the divan was filled with country-people coming to pay their tribute; and those whose experience of such a scene is confined to an English rent-day or tithe-feast, can form no notion of the noise, disputes, and gesticulation which we witnessed. The Aga, who understood little of what was said, conducted himself with complete Turkish *sang froid;* and in spite of the arguments and vociferation of the natives, I observed that he almost always succeeded in obtaining his full demand.

In the meantime the boat, a small, miserable, crazy machine, had been prepared for our reception. Over the stern was placed an awning composed of hoops of wood covered with straw and palm-leaves, under which there was just room to spread out a mat, which was to serve for sofa and for bed. The crew consisted of the owner and two boys. For provisions, we had the remainder of the stock of biscuits which we had procured at Esneh, a large supply of dried dates, and some flour which by the

Aga's interference we obtained, though not without difficulty, from the cacheff's magazines. Of some English porter which we put into our provision baskets at Assouan, several bottles had exploded from the heat in our first day's journey; and we had forthwith dispatched the remainder, to prevent a similar catastrophe. The bottles we now filled with date wine, a luscious and rather sickly liquor, which, however, the warmth of the climate and the want of any thing better soon rendered palatable.

About noon we embarked and set sail. The evening was very fine: and after the fatigues of our journey by land, we enjoyed the repose of our present situation, although the accommodations which our boat afforded were of the humblest kind. Instead of being shaken by the rough motion of the camels, and exposed to the intense heat of the sun, we now stretched ourselves listlessly under our leafy canopy, lulled by the creaking sound of the water-wheels, which has a great resemblance to the humming of bees.

17th.—About the middle of the day we arrived at Ibrim, supposed to be the ancient Primis, which stands on the crown of a precipitous cliff. The access to it from the water is difficult, and it is now merely a heap of ruins, having been deserted by the inhabitants, when the Mamalukes retreated through the country in their way to Dongola. We observed some remains of an Egyptian temple and a Mahometan mosque, and a quantity of capitals

and other fragments of Roman architecture are scattered about. The view from Ibrim is extremely desolate, the sand coming close to the banks on both sides of the river.

18th.—The winds continued so light that we made scarcely any progress against the current. One of the boys having gone into the water to push off from a sand bank, as he was in the act of stepping back into the boat a small crocodile darted upon him, and made a snap at his leg. Fortunately the reis was standing at the side of the boat with a pole in his hand, with which he struck a blow at the head of the animal; and the boy, though terribly frightened, had time to make his escape.

19th.—Our progress was slower than ever; and our patience was almost exhausted, when an eight-oared cangia came in sight, and soon overtook us. It belonged to Captain Foskett; and I found to my great mortification that he had passed the Cataracts four days after I had been told that the attempt would be fruitless. He kindly offered to take my boat in tow, and in the evening we arrived at Ipsambul.

To those who are at all acquainted with Egyptian antiquities, or who have attended to the brilliant discoveries made of late years in that country and in Nubia; the temples of Ipsambul,—the last and most magnificent objects of a voyage up the Nile,—must be familiar in description, though no description can convey an adequate idea of their grandeur.

Above Ibrim the shores of the river were tame and level, till at length we arrived in sight of a high range of sandy cliffs, which appeared to be placed directly across our course and to intercept our further progress. On reaching them, however, the river took a sudden bend, and a most striking scene opened upon us. Immediately above us, on the right, was an excavated temple, with six gigantic figures of Isis supporting the roof; and in front, the great temple presented itself with its four colossal statues, occupying entirely the face of a lofty perpendicular cliff. These figures are in a sitting attitude, sixty feet high, and almost detached from the rock, being connected with it only by a narrow rib. They are undoubtedly superior to any other work of Egyptian sculpture; and allowing for the peculiarity of feature which distinguishes all the productions of that school, they may be pronounced to be among the most beautiful specimens of ancient art. The countenances have a sweetness and serenity of expression quite unrivalled. The sand drifting down over the top of the rocks had formed a sloping bank, and covered the figures more or less in proportion to their distance from the river. Of the furthest the head alone was visible, while the nearest was buried only up to the knees. In the centre of the façade is a statue of the hawk-headed Osiris, placed in a niche; and immediately under it is the door, which is twenty feet high, but so choked up as scarcely to leave room for entrance. Only one per-

son could go in at a time, and he was obliged to lie down and permit himself to be carried on by the rolling motion of the sand.

If the exterior of the temple can scarce fail to impress us with the highest admiration for the genius of the ancient Egyptians, its interior seems almost to realize the description of some palace of the genii in Eastern fable. On entering the first chamber, which is sixty feet long and fifty feet wide, eight colossal figures of Osiris which support the roof, each armed with his sceptre and scourge, seem to frown upon the daring stranger who ventures to break in upon their repose. Behind these figures, which are arranged in two rows extending from the entrance to the door of the second chamber, the wall on one side is covered with a vast painting representing the siege of a city, in which is introduced a confused assemblage of battles, encampments, and processions. On the other, a hero, mounted on a chariot, drives before him a group of prisoners: the victor in a single combat strikes his spear into the vanquished who has fallen at his feet: an Ethiopian warrior stands in a tower, and defends himself against an Egyptian who attacks him from a chariot: and a gigantic figure holds eleven victims by the hair of their heads in his left hand, and with the right brandishes his sword, and prepares to cut them off at a blow. All these pictures, though they have not retained their colouring so well as those in the tomb of Psammis, yet are

designed with greater truth and energy than any other specimens of Egyptian art which have yet been found. On the walls of the second chamber are some curious allegorical figures emblematic of the productive powers of Nature, and in the innermost chamber or sanctuary are four statues, probably the presiding deities of the temple. They are sitting in a row, with their backs to the wall, facing the entrance of the chamber, and are of different dimensions, the tallest being about eight feet high. One of them represents the hawk-headed Osiris: the other three have human forms; one of them wears the double mitre, the other a smaller cap, and the third has the head uncovered. In front of them is a square stone, which probably served for the altar. The entire exclusion of the outward air, and the number of candles and torches which we were obliged to burn to give full effect to apartments so spacious and lofty, and pictures on so large a scale, produced a degree of heat which it was impossible to support for long, even in the thinnest clothing. We never remained in the temple more than three quarters of an hour at a time, and then both ourselves and the boatmen who carried the torches were completely exhausted.

The smaller temple of Ipsambul is on the same side of the river as the larger one, from which it is separated by a ravine or narrow valley nearly filled with sand. The rock is excavated into six deep niches, which are occupied by as many statues, be-

tween twenty and thirty feet high. One female and two male figures are on each side the entrance, and between each is a smaller statue reaching about to the knee of the larger ones. They represent Isis, Osiris, and Horus, the temple having been probably dedicated to the goddess. The figures have great boldness of attitude, but less beauty of countenance than those of the larger temple.

The excavations at Ipsambul, in addition to their extraordinary merit as works of art, may be considered as perhaps of more undoubted antiquity than any yet discovered on the Nile. If the inscription observed by Mr. William Bankes on the leg of one of the colossi be admitted as evidence, it would prove that they were in existence in the reign of Psammetichus; but even without that they cannot be suspected of Ptolemaic or Roman origin, and must remain perpetual monuments of the early excellence at which the art of sculpture arrived in Æthiopia. The discovery of the temple is due to Shekh Ibrahim. It was excavated and opened to view by the enterprise and perseverance of Belzoni, who has given a very interesting account of the progress of his arduous task*. The comparatively perfect state in which it remains, is owing to the

* He had the advantage of being ably assisted by Captain Mangles and Captain Irby of the navy; and these gentlemen also have given an account of the labour, privations, and disappointments which the whole party underwent before they accomplished their object.—See their unpublished work.

sand of the desert, which concealed it for ages, and prevented it from becoming the haunt of the barbarous natives, or from being defaced by more barbarous invaders. Probably before this time it is again safe under the same protection.

21st.—The shores above Ipsambul are flat, and the river widens considerably. About three o'clock we came to an anchor near Wadi Elfi, and found there a little flotilla of boats belonging to Mr. Bankes, Mr. Beechey, and Mr. Hyde, who had just returned from an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the country above the second Cataract. I passed a very pleasant evening in company with these gentlemen, and learned the particulars of their adventure, which at first promised a successful result. It failed ultimately, however, in consequence of their camels having been driven away or stolen by the drivers, at the instigation probably of their own servants, who did not relish the fatigue and danger of the journey. This failure caused me to lay aside all intention of making a similar attempt. The jealousy of the inhabitants of the upper country would probably have proved an effectual bar, except to those who, like some subsequent travellers *, went in the train of an army, or were protected by a powerful escort.

22nd.—Early in the morning Captain Foskett's interpreter, a Greek of Latakia, who had assumed the Albanian dress and the Turkish name of Ibra-

* Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hanbury.

him, was dispatched to the village in search of provisions. On his way his attention was directed to a calf which was grazing in the fields, and thinking that some veal would be an agreeable variety at our table, which of late had been supplied with mutton only, he endeavoured to treat with the owner for the purchase of it. The man, however, not being disposed to sell, Ibrahim, thinking that with the name and dress he might use too the license of a Turk, drove the calf towards the boats in spite of his remonstrances, and happening to fall in with a Nubian girl who was at work in the fields, he proceeded to carry her off also. Enraged at this double abduction, the peasant gave the alarm, and a party of the natives presently rushed down to the spot, brandishing their spears and threatening violence. Ibrahim, finding they pressed more closely upon him than was agreeable, and knowing their dislike to fire-arms, discharged his pistols over their heads, as a hint to them to keep their distance. They were too numerous, however, to be thus intimidated, and it might have gone hard with him, had not the report of the shots fortunately been heard at the boats. Pearce hastened to see what was the matter, and found Ibrahim surrounded by forty or fifty armed Berberins, but still undaunted, holding his drawn sword between his teeth and reloading his pistols. The natives, awed by his coolness, and still more perhaps by their supposing him a Turk, did not offer to attack him, but contented them-

selves with threats and abuse; and Pearce, though with some difficulty, succeeded in rescuing him from the tumult. They retired amid a shower of stones, and Ibrahim was compelled to resign both his prizes; one of them was, I have no doubt, very glad of the reprieve, but I am not sure that I can say so much for the other.

After this affray was over, we sailed about two miles higher up the river, and landed on the western side. We then walked along the sand for some distance, till we arrived at a steep rock which overhangs the Cataracts, and which is nearly covered with inscriptions commemorating the visits of various recent travellers. Lord Belmore's party had left a more useful memorial, the latitude of the place taken from their own observations, and which they made 21° 57′ or 1° 33′ within the tropic. From the summit of the rock there is a fine view of the Cataracts, or rapids, as they might more properly be called, the fall not being in any place very considerable, and being occasioned only by the numerous islands and masses of rock which interrupt the course of the river for nearly seven miles, and divide it into the Wadi Elfi (or "thousand streams)," which have given a name to the neighbouring village and district. The scenery of the Cataracts is pretty. The deep black colour of the rocks, and the vivid green of the islands, which the dashing spray keeps in constant vegetation, afford an agree-

able relief to the eye amid the barren desert which stretches round on every side. It was about three o'clock when we returned; and the sand had been so heated by the full sun, that it absolutely scorched our feet through the thin slippers which we wore: it is beautifully fine, and sparkles like crystal: its surface is thickly scattered with large stones of a dark colour, and apparently of volcanic origin. The only animals that we saw were a few gazelles, which were very shy, and would not allow us to approach them.

23rd.—This morning an Arab of the Ababdé tribe, who occupy the desert east of the Nile, brought for sale a very fine *hadgeen*, or dromedary (as we should call it), which is not a distinct animal from the camel, but differs from it only as the hunter differs from the cart-horse. The *hadgeen* is of large size, but very slender proportions. His pace is a long high trot of about twelve miles an hour, which he seems to accomplish without any effort, but which shakes the rider excessively, so as to be scarcely bearable by one not accustomed to it. He is guided by a rope fastened to a ring passed through his nose.

We left Wadi Elfi in the middle of the day, and anchored for the night at Feraz, a fertile and well cultivated island in the Nile; and the next evening we reached Ipsambul, and paid another visit to the temple. During the four days we were absent,

the sand had so drifted about the doorway, that we were obliged to remove some of it before we could gain access to the interior.

25th.—We reluctantly bid adieu to this splendid monument, and about dusk arrived at Deir. Not thinking it worth while to renew our acquaintance either with the Aga or the Cacheff, we sent the servants into the town to procure what was necessary, and passed the night in the boat.

26th.—About noon we landed at the temple of Amada, which is well situated on a sandy hill overlooking a fine bend of the river, with the village of Croosko amid thick groves of palm trees on the opposite side, and a range of mountains beyond. The temple of Amada is small. It consists of a portico supported by twelve columns, some of which are polygonal, and within them is a sanctuary. Some of the figures on the walls of the latter are very fine, and the colours have preserved an unusual brilliancy.

27th.—We landed at Sibouah, where are the remains of a temple built against the side of a sandy hill, at about a hundred yards from the banks of the river, from whence it was approached by a low flight of steps and an avenue of sphinxes. These had not long before been excavated by Mr. Salt, but were now again covered with sand, so that but a small part of each figure was discernible. At the end of each row towards the river is a mutilated statue, and in front of the propylon are two colossal

figures thrown down and defaced. The propylon opens into a court surrounded by an inner peristyle, but so much choked up with sand, that the entrance to the sanctuary is very difficult. The sanctuary has been used for Christian worship, and there is a head of St. Peter on the wall in fine preservation. The scenery in the neighbourhood is very beautiful; the rocky hills on the eastern side slope gradually down into the vale, which is covered with verdure, and the banks of the river are fringed with sycamores, acacias, and bushy shrubs.

From Sibouah, which is supposed to be among the most ancient of the Nubian remains, we proceeded to Maharraga or Aufidena, the ancient Hierosycaminon, which is perhaps the most modern. Here are the remains of two temples, neither of which appears ever to have been completed. The one consists of a portico only, with an inner peristyle of sixteen columns with various capitals, none of them in good taste. There are no bas-reliefs on the walls, but a great number of inscriptions in red paint, which the extraordinary mildness of the climate has kept in perfect preservation. From them it appears to have been dedicated to the god Mandouli, the Egyptian Apollo. Of the other temple, a part of the walls alone remain, on which is a bas-relief of Isis and Horus, so much in the style of the lower ages of the Empire, that it may easily be mistaken, as it has been by some travellers, for the Virgin and Child. The transition from the one

to the other in the minds of the ancient Egyptians was perhaps equally easy.

In the afternoon we landed at Dakki. The temple here is differently situated from that at Sibouah, being placed parallel with instead of facing the river, and the approach is from the north. The propylon is lofty, and almost covered with the "proscunemata*" of Roman officers, who came from the stations at Philæ and Elephantine to pay their homage to Mercury the tutelary deity. Their dates are chiefly in the reigns of Tiberius and Adrian. The temple itself, which is united to the propylon not by a peristyle, as is usually the case, but merely by low walls, appears to have been originally very small, and to have been enlarged afterwards. It is in very fine preservation; and from the elegance of its proportions and its detached and solitary situation, is perhaps one of the most striking of the Nubian antiquities. In place of the usual winged globe over the entrance, is a Greek inscription, in which the name of Ptolemy occurs. It is accompanied by a translation in hieroglyphics, and afforded one of the earliest keys to the study of the sacred writings of the Egyptians, which has since been so successfully prosecuted by the literati of Europe.

In the evening we anchored at Girshi-Hassan, where there is an excavated temple, somewhat re-

* Records of the visits and homage paid to the deities of these temples.

sembling in design that of Ipsambul, but very inferior both in size and in execution. In front it has a portico supported by statues. The ante-chamber is supported by colossi of very clumsy proportions, and in the walls are niches, each occupied by a female and two male figures. In the sanctuary the four deities are seated, but their faces and dress differ from those at Ipsambul. The walls were covered with paintings, now almost obliterated; and indeed the whole of the temple having been used either as a dwelling or place of defence, is in a very dilapidated state.

29th.—Early in the morning we arrived at Dendour, where there is a very small temple with a propylon built upon a terrace near the river. The portico has only two columns, and the cell is excavated in the mountain.

In the middle of the day we landed at Kalapshé, and again visited the temple there. It is one of the most modern of Nubia, but it must have been also one of the most beautiful and highly ornamented. A lofty propylon opens into a spacious court, surrounded by a peristyle. Of this, one column only remains standing; but the numerous fragments lying scattered about, show the beauty and variety of the workmanship, which departs however from the general style of Egyptian architecture, some of the capitals being ornamented with volutes and bunches of grapes. The portico consists of four columns, which are connected together by

walls or pannels of about one third their height, each surmounted by a cornice and by a winged globe; and this peculiarity is said to prove the modern date of the work, being never found in the more ancient edifices. The colours in the interior of the temple are more bright and better preserved than in any other, whether of Egypt or Ethiopia, which has been exposed to the open air. The brilliancy and high polish of some of the tints, particularly of the light blues, might almost be taken for enamel. This temple was consecrated to Mandonli, or the Sun, as appears from the numerous "proscunemata" on the walls and columns. Among others, "Caius Cassius, commander of the Theban troop of cavalry, records his visit, and that he brought with him to worship here, his brothers, his children, his servants, and his horse." Kalapshé is particularly rich in Greek inscriptions; and there is a long and very curious one, which records the conquest of the country by Silcho king of the Blemmyes, an historical fact mentioned by an ancient author.

In a hill above Kalapshé is a small excavated temple called Beht el Ouali. It is entered by a passage cut through the rock, on the sides of which are some of the most beautiful bas-reliefs to be found on the banks of the Nile. They are exposed to the air, but in perfect preservation, and represent a procession with offerings to some prince or deity, in which, besides a number of human figures, are

introduced various animals dead and living, all designed and executed on a small scale, but with the greatest truth and delicacy.

Below Kalapshé the river is contracted into a narrow channel, between bold and abrupt rocks on each side, and its course is also broken by several islands, on one of which is a deserted and ruinous village. At the northern extremity of this defile, which has been sometimes called the Gate of Nubia, is the village of Tafa, the ancient Taphis, in a retired and sheltered situation, screened by rocks on the south and west, and commanding a fine view down the river. Here are the remains of two small temples, one of which is blocked up with rude buildings, and used as a shed for cows, and the other is rapidly disappearing, as the natives pull down the walls for the sake of the metal cramps with which the stones are fastened together.

30th.—We landed at Gortas, and walked through heaps of ruins to the quarries, which are about half a mile from the river, and are very extensive. Among them is a small excavated temple of Isis, covered with Greek inscriptions, which preserve all their original freshness.

On our return we deviated a little to our right, to visit the remains of a small but very beautiful temple dedicated to the same goddess, and advantageously placed on the side of a hill. It consists of six columns, with some remains of the architrave. Two of the columns have plain but elegantly shaped

capitals; two others are ornamented with date leaves, lotus, Indian corn, and bunches of grapes; and the remaining two, have female heads like those at Denderah. The faces are well preserved, and have the peculiar form, the prominent eye, and soft expression of the lip, which characterize generally the Egyptian statues, and of which now and then a living model may be found among the Egyptian women of the present day.

We afterwards landed at Debodé, (Parembole,) where there is an unfinished temple. It is remarkable for having four pyla or gateways, one behind the other. The first stands on a stone quay close to the river. In the sanctuary are two of the small monolithic temples of granite, which are supposed o have served as cages for the sacred animals.

How abundant are the remains of antiquity in his district, and how thickly set with religious edifices were the banks of the Nile between the first and second Cataract, may be judged from our having visited in the course of three easy days' sail twelve different temples. All of them, with the exception of the excavations at Girshi-Hassan and at Ipsambul, are on a smaller scale than those of Egypt, and the greater part of them are of a comparatively modern date. This circumstance is indicated by certain peculiarities in the architecture, and also by the bas-reliefs and other monuments, which are evidently of a period when the native Egyptian manner had been mixed up with imitations of Greek

or Roman sculpture, introduced probably by artists from those countries.

Some of the temples in Nubia appear never to have been finished, and others to have been partly pulled down to employ the materials elsewhere. An inscription exists at Kalapshé recording the removal of some stones from thence to assist in building a temple at Philæ. Upon the whole, however, they have suffered less from the lapse of time and the hand of the destroyer, than their more stately Egyptian neighbours. The greater dryness of the climate, and the more remote situation and comparative poverty of the country, which have prevented it from being so long occupied by invading armies, are among the causes of this better state of preservation, and they were protected for some centuries from wanton injury, by having been almost universally adopted as places of worship by the early Christians. In order to accommodate them to this purpose, it was necessary to efface as much as possible the symbols of paganism with which the walls were covered; and they were accordingly painted over with the effigies of saints and angels in the gaudy colours and barbarous style of the lower empire. The monks, however, did not work with such durable materials as their predecessors; and the outer coat of paint has in many instances crumbled away, exposing the ancient pictures partially to view, and producing some whimsical combinations of the old and new religions,—the head of

St. Basil may perchance be seen resting between the horns of Isis, the snout of Typhon peeping from under the robe of St. Anthony, or the mitre of Osiris overshadowing the brows of St. Athanasius.

Below Debodé the river gradually expands and assumes the appearance of a lake shut in on every side by basaltic rocks, and the island of Philæ with its groves and temples rises majestically from its bosom. We anchored there in the evening of the 30th of March, just three weeks after leaving Assouan. Philæ is still called "The Island of Temples*;" and it has been observed, that the Egyptians "seem to have studied to collect there every picturesque and striking beauty of which their architecture was susceptible," either to outvie their Æthiopian neighbours, or to dazzle by the splendour and wealth of their religious edifices, the strangers who might enter their country by this frontier. The principal landing place was at the southern end of the island, where there was probably a flight of steps leading up to the avenue, or Dromos as it is called, which conducted to the great temple. At the entrance of this avenue, on the western side, are two small obelisks of stone, one of which is still standing, and has a Greek inscription containing the "proscunema" of one of the Ptolemies; and behind them are six pillars, which formed the portico of a small temple of Isis,

* Giziret el Birbe.

who seems to have been the tutelar deity of the island. From thence a covered corridor with thirty columns in front, extends northward along the bank of the river, supported by a massive wall built up from below the water's edge. This colonnade formed the western side of the dromos or approach; the eastern side was formed by a gallery of seventeen columns only, at the back of which were doors opening into cells or chambers, the habitations probably of the priests. At the northern end of the avenue a lofty propylon opens into a large court or Pronaos, on the eastern side of which is a colonnade of ten pillars, and on the western a temple dedicated also to Isis, and surrounded by a peristyle, with a portico in front supported by two ranges of columns, and communicating with the dromos by another pylon in the same line with the great one, which enters into the pronaos. On the northern side of the pronaos is the grand portico, a magnificent hall supported by ten columns, two in the front and four in each of the back rows. These columns are lofty and of fine proportions; the capitals are elegantly shaped, and painted with pale blue and pale green, relieved by some slight touches of pale red; a combination of colours most refreshing to the eye after the glare of sunshine on the outside, and which gives an air of coolness to the portico even in the hottest day. Round the skirting of the walls there is a range of palm-leaves painted in red; and the ceiling, as in most of the

Egyptian temples is a blue ground sprinkled with white stars. The sanctuary within the portico is composed of a number of small chambers, all of which remain very perfect. The different buildings which I have described are not in a straight line, but are placed obliquely to each other,—a peculiarity resulting perhaps from the necessity of accommodating them to the slope of the ground and the course of the river, but which adds very much to their picturesque effect.

At some distance to the eastward of the great temple is a smaller one, which, though very beautiful, bears little resemblance to the other sacred buildings of the Egyptians. It is evidently unfinished, and consists only of an oblong inclosure, with five columns at each of the sides and two at each end, between which latter are the entrances. The other intercolumniations are filled up to more than half their height by walls or panels surmounted by the winged globe, like those I have noticed at Kalapshé. There is no roof, a deficiency which is probably to be attributed to its unfinished state. The proportions of the columns are lighter than usual, and some of the capitals have ornaments very much resembling the Ionic volute, a circumstance which has led to the supposition that this was one of the models from which the Greek architects took the idea of that order. It is more probably, however, a specimen of the latest manner

of the Egyptian school when it was gradually melting into the Roman.

Philæ is a rich field for the study of Egyptian art. The different buildings afford examples of the style of its different æras, and the unfinished state of some of them throws a light on the manner of their construction. It seems evident that the ornamental parts were added after the solid masonry was put up, and in some cases perhaps at a considerable interval of time. On one of the propyla, for instance, there are several inscriptions partly effaced by the outline of bas-reliefs which have been subsequently cut on them; and in the colonnades there are capitals in every stage of progress, from the first rude outline marked on the stone, to the highest and most elaborate finish. There is a great variety in the designs* of these, but they are chiefly composed of the branches and fruit of the palm-tree and the leaves and flowers of the lotus. The Greek inscriptions in different parts of the temples are innumerable, and comprise a period extending from the age of the Ptolemies till after the establishment of Christianity.

It would be difficult to find a more agreeable retreat than Philæ, or a spot better suited to repose and contemplation. The surrounding scenery is

* In one collection that I know, there are drawings of forty-eight varieties of Egyptian capitals, most of which are to be found at Philæ.

romantic, the climate in spring is delightful, the buildings afford an inexhaustible source of occupation to the antiquary and the draftsman; and as the only inhabitants on the island are two or three old men and women, a stranger is not annoyed by the myriads of half-starved dogs and naked children, which rush out upon him from the mud cottages generally attached to an Egyptian temple, and banish every thought congenial to the place. Here, on the contrary, the retirement and solitude is so complete, that he may fancy himself entirely separated from the world, and may commune uninterruptedly with ages gone by.

I remained a week at Philæ, during which time I received a visit from my Reis, who was waiting for me at Assouan, and who could make but sorry excuses when I taxed him with his roguery in not taking me up the Cataract. My Dragoman Constantino Dracopolo, tired of waiting, had set out on his return to Cairo, but my satisfaction in getting rid of him was rather damped, by his having during my absence drank up great part of my wine, and afterwards carried away, for his own use on his voyage, several essential articles of my equipage.

CHAPTER VIII.

NILE.—CAIRO.—DAMIETTA.

We left Philæ on the 5th of April. Our little boat conveyed us to the head of the eastern branch of the Cataract; and a walk of about two miles, in the course of which we visited the famous granite quarries, brought us to its lower extremity, where the cangia was waiting for us. We immediately stood over to the island of Elephantine, whose picturesque scenery has been so much vaunted by Denon and other travellers. To me it appeared very tame after Philæ, and its chief beauty seemed to consist in some fine groves of sycamores. It was an important Roman station; there is a small temple in very good preservation, and the ground is literally heaped up with small fragments of pottery. Many of these are written over with Greek characters, so rude in their shape as to be scarcely legible, but which when deciphered prove to be receipts for their monthly pay, given by the Roman soldiers who were stationed here.

Assouan, which is exactly over-against Elephantine on the eastern bank of the Nile, is a large town, possessing numerous Egyptian, Roman, Saracenic and French remains, but none of very great interest.

On the two following days we revisited Coum Ombos and Edfu; and on the 8th explored the sepulchral grottoes of Eleithia, which are excavated in some lofty cliffs about two miles east of the river. If the temple of Edfu is the grandest, the caves of Eleithia are perhaps the most interesting of all the Egyptian monuments; as they are ornamented with paintings in very good preservation, illustrative of almost every part of the rural and domestic œconomy of the ancient inhabitants. The different operations of agriculture—ploughing, sowing, hoeing, rolling, reaping, binding, thrashing, winnowing, and storing the corn in granaries; the modes of killing, flaying, and cutting up the beasts; the vintage, and manufacture of wine; the gathering and dressing of flax; fowling, both with nets and arrows, boar-hunting, fishing and salting the fish; boats and shipping; a grand feast with musicians and dancers; and a pompous funeral, in which the process of embalming is introduced—are all depicted with the greatest minuteness, and with sufficient truth to give a perfect idea of the objects intended to be represented, although without any attention to perspective or to light and shade, the neglect of which important points is the grand defect of all Egyptian painting.

10th.—We again reached Thebes, and spent three days in reviewing at leisure the different monuments there. During this time a great number of antiquities were brought to me by the Fellahs for

sale, but I was not fortunate enough to meet with any thing of much value. In this pursuit, indeed, a traveller must depend very much on chance for success; for if he is not present at the moment when a new tomb or mummy-pit is discovered, all that is most valuable is immediately bought up by the agents of the European collectors at Cairo or Alexandria. These persons reside constantly on the spot, and have of course a greater knowledge of what is going on, and greater facilities of dealing with the natives. They also themselves excavate for the account of their employers, who obtain grants of land for the purpose from the Turkish authorities: and as a great spirit of rivalry prevails among them, disputes frequently arise upon either real or pretended invasions of each other's territories, and sometimes end in open violence*. It is to be lamented that many of them are low ignorant men, in whose hands the liberal pursuits of the antiquary are degraded into mere commercial speculations.

16th.—I spent the day among the ruins of Denderah, which, like almost all the ancient remains in this country, will be more admired at the second than at the first visit. It is necessary, indeed, to be habituated in some degree to Egyptian architecture, in order duly to appreciate its merits. To a traveller fresh from Italy or Greece, whose eye has been accustomed to the light style of Palla-

* See Belzoni's Narrative, p. 364.

dian architecture, or even to the more solid proportions of the Doric, the temples on the Nile can scarcely fail at first view to appear heavy almost to deformity. The intercolumniations will seem too small, the pillars crowded, and the ordinary form of them,—especially when, as is generally the case, they are buried to a considerable depth in rubbish, —extremely clumsy; while the ornaments will be thought monotonous in design and redundant in quantity. It is only after repeated and attentive observation that these unfavourable impressions wear off, and we become gradually sensible of the grand effect produced by the vast size of the buildings, by the massiveness of the masonry, the strength of the columns, the variety of the capitals, the graceful inclination of the outer walls, the simplicity of the mouldings, and the bold curve of the cornice. The happy adaptation of the style to the climate will reconcile us also to some of its peculiarities. In more temperate regions, a single peristyle was sufficient; here, a deeper portico, frequently containing four rows of columns, was necessary to protect the worshipper from the rays of an almost vertical sun. The ornaments too, it may be observed, however crowded, are always made subservient to the principal design; and at that point of distance where the architecture is seen to the greatest advantage, the sculpture for the most part is no longer distinguishable. Even among the grotesque and monstrous compounds of men,

beasts, and birds*, with which every part of the buildings is covered, some figures may be found, whose forms and countenances show plainly what the artist was capable of performing, if (as I have before remarked) his genius had not been cramped by his subject. Strength, durability, and shade, seem to have been the objects of the architect; and in pursuit of them, he has attained grandeur. Dignity, serenity, and repose, were what the sculptor aimed at expressing; and he has frequently produced beauty.

Good taste in the combination of colours seems natural to the inhabitants of the East even at the present day; and artists who have examined critically the paintings in the tombs of the kings and elsewhere, which remain in perfect preservation, have been surprised at the knowledge of effect which the ancient colourists possessed. It is not produced, they say, by the purity or brightness of any particular tint; but, as in the works of the Venetian school, by that perfect arrangement which will not allow any part, however unimportant it may appear, to be altered, without injuring the effect of the whole composition.

It is to be lamented, that of all the graphic

* In justice to the ancient Egyptians, it should be observed, that these figures were probably nothing more than the representations of the statues of their deities, dressed in the masks under which it was the custom of the priests to disguise them in their ceremonies and processions.—See Hamilton, p. 160.

works published on Egypt, not one can be found which does complete justice to the ancient monuments, or which can convey an accurate notion of their effect to the minds of those who have never seen them. Even the "*Grand Livre*" of the French Institute, though a splendid tribute to the memory of the mighty genius by whose direction it was commenced, and a monument of the unparalleled perfection at which the arts had arrived under his auspices, is in many parts inaccurate to a degree scarcely to be credited by those who have not had an opportunity of comparing it with the originals on the spot. It is provoking to see the exquisite skill of the engraver frequently wasted on drawings which bear scarcely any resemblance to the objects they profess to represent; and many of which were made by inferior hands, the *Ingenieurs des ponts et des chaussées*. Even the works of the better French artists lose much of their value, from their propensity to represent ancient buildings rather as they suppose them to have been, than as they actually see them now. They are too fond of restorations,—and restorations, in the Arts at least, are seldom happy*.

On the 20th we arrived at Siout, where Dr.

* The drawings of Bossi, which have been published in lithograph by my friend Mr. Edward Cooper, are very faithful and characteristic representations of the scenery and inhabitants of the banks of the Nile. But the temples cannot be given with effect on so small a scale.

Marruchi confirmed the unwelcome reports that we had already heard, of the plague having broke out at Cairo; and three days afterwards, on reaching Erramouni, we found several Franks who had come thither as a place of refuge, the disease seldom spreading so high up the country.

26th.—On our arrival at Minieh we learned that it had not yet made its appearance there; and we therefore ventured on shore, and accompanied by Dr. Nicola, an Italian physician, paid a visit to Achmet Bey, the governor of the place,—a jolly fresh-coloured man, of about forty-five years of age, very gay in his dress, and free from all Turkish reserve and hauteur. Having lived much in his youth with the English and French armies, he had acquired some tincture of European manners, and professed great attachment to Franks in general. After the usual pipes and coffee, a glass of excellent rum punch was handed round,—the only time that I ever saw any fermented liquor openly introduced in the house of a Mahometan of distinction. The Bey did not drink any himself, probably reserving his libation for a more private opportunity. He asked us a great many questions, chiefly on political topics, expressed much satisfaction at having seen us, and soon after our return to our boats sent us two sheep and a good supply of bread and vegetables. As our whole stock of presents was long ago exhausted, we could only repay this munificence by a liberal *bacsheesh* to his servants.

At Souadi, opposite to Minieh, there was a manufactory of sugar and spirits, under the management of a Mr. Sutherland, who had formerly been a lieutenant-colonel in the English army; and I took the opportunity of laying in a stock of the latter article. My boatmen had in general no scruples in drinking it; and as I was very anxious to reach Cairo before the plague should have had time to spread, I thought that an occasional distribution of rations would be a good way of securing their more strenuous exertions. The plan succeeded, and kept them in high good humour. They remained almost constantly at their oars for more than sixty hours; and having left Minieh on the 27th, we anchored at Old Cairo on the evening of the 29th of March, a distance which in going up had taken us eight days to perform. The next morning I left the boat at day-break, and accompanied by Pearce repaired to the English consulate, avoiding as much as possible all contact with the passengers who came in our way.

Though the plague did not as yet rage with great violence in Cairo, yet the Frank houses were all shut up. Mr. Salt, however, was kind enough to admit us; and after passing two or three days' quarantine in a detached apartment, we were allowed to join the rest of the party which had sought refuge in the consulate. It consisted of my old companion Mr. Jowett, the Baron Sack a Prussian,

and two English gentlemen (Mr. Stevenson, and Dr. Armstrong), who were on their way from Bombay to England *. We were closely confined within the walls of the consulate, and all persons from without were as rigidly excluded. The gate which opened from the court into the street was strictly closed, and the only communication was through a hatch-door cut in it. The key of this was not entrusted even to the servants. Each of the company took charge of it in his turn for a day, and it was his business to see that every thing supposed capable of communicating the contagion was duly purified before it was allowed to pass into the house. These precautions were at any rate useful, as giving a feeling of security; but I have no doubt that the distinction between such objects as are called " susceptible" (to use the technical phrase), and such as are not, is frequently arbitrary, and that the *index expurgatorius* in this, as in other instances, is tinged by prejudice and caprice. Happily, some of the articles of most frequent use, such as bread, iron, and wood for example, were allowed to pass without suspicion; but meat and all animal substances, and money of every kind, were thrown with iron tongs or shovels into a large tub, and compelled to pass through the watery ordeal. Letters, books, and

* Both these gentlemen, after escaping from the Cholera Morbus at Bombay and the Plague in Egypt, unfortunately fell victims to the Malaria fever in Greece.

papers, on the other hand, are purified by fire, or at least by smoke, being placed on a sort of chafing-dish, and fumigated with a compound of drugs which is anything but aromatic; and if it should be necessary to affix a signature to any document, a plate of glass is introduced between the paper and the hand of the writer. The cats, who in their nocturnal rambles are supposed to carry with them the seeds of contagion, are condemned to indiscriminate slaughter whenever they are seen creeping along the walls or on the housetops; and when terror is at its height, even the flies are objects of alarm, and the sports of Domitian are revived.

And after all, some persons have denied that the plague is contagious; a paradox which seems to be as much at variance with facts as with general opinion*. But on the other hand, from the circumstance of the disease never spreading beyond certain latitudes, and from its regularly appearing and disappearing at Cairo at certain periods of the year, it may fairly be inferred that it is influenced by climate and by the state of the atmosphere; and susceptibility to its attacks seems to depend also in some degree upon the mode of life of the subject. The Frank, from his more generous diet, is least liable to it; the Musulman, using no strong liquors, is more so: but the greatest mortality is always found to take place among the native Christians, whose long fasts necessarily tend to lower the sy-

* See Macmichael "on Contagion."

stem. The state of mind too has no doubt great influence*. The precautions which the Frank takes give him, as I have before observed, a feeling of security; and the Turk, persuaded that it is *Kesmet*, or decreed†, whether or not he shall die of the plague, smokes his pipe tranquilly and awaits his destiny.

Mr. Salt strongly pressed me to remain at Cairo till the plague should have subsided, and I felt no wish to leave the comfortable quarters and agreeable society which his house afforded. The season, however, was advancing, and the great heats coming on; and I was anxious to breathe the refreshing gales of Mount Lebanon, and to finish my tour in Syria before the winter should set in. My former companion Mr. Jowett agreed to accompany me as far as Jerusalem; and as one of his objects in going thither was to search for Abyssinian manuscripts and converse with Abyssinian pilgrims, he deter-

* I observed an instance of this in my Italian servant, who, as servants were not admitted into Mr. Salt's house, was obliged to live at a tavern in the neighbourhood, where (as he told me afterwards) several of his companions died of the disease. Knowing him not to be remarkable for courage, I asked him whether he was not alarmed; but he replied in the negative, telling me that he had a piece of the wood of the true cross, or of the Virgin's tomb at Loretto,—I forget which,—and that so long as he wore it round his neck, he was confident that he was not in any danger. Though the charm might not derive its virtue from the causes which he supposed, yet I have no doubt that it was efficacious, and that "his faith kept him whole."

† Literally "written."

mined, much to my satisfaction, to take Pearce with him. It was thought that we should run less risk of catching the plague if we passed through the desert of El Arish, than if we went down the Nile and embarked at Damietta for Jaffa; and as I knew that the camel on his native sands was a safe and not uneasy conveyance, I agreed to this mode of travelling. Nine of these animals were necessary for ourselves and baggage. One of them was loaded entirely with water, which is carried in goatskins, and which it was necessary to be provided with, as none is to be found in the five days' journey which intervenes between the cultivated plains of the Delta and the frontiers of Palestine. A second carried a tent equipage, which had been given me by Mr. Stevenson; and a third was laden with a number of packing-cases containing bibles and other religious books, which my companion hoped to disseminate in the course of his tour. All arrangements being made, on the 1st of June we set out on our pilgrimage to the Holy City. We left Cairo by the "Bab el Nasr," or Gate of Glory; and as it is the custom of caravans to make but a short stage on the first day, we halted in an open spot about ten miles distant.

June 2nd.—Our route lay along the skirts of the desert, which stretched out as far as the eye could reach on our right. On the left were the rich fields of the Delta, among which we observed at a distance several of those immense mounds of

earth which indicate the sites of ancient cities. About noon we arrived at Belbeis, a considerable town, where we had intended to halt: but understanding that the plague had made its appearance there, we thought it more prudent to encamp on the sands near a spring, about three quarters of a mile distant. We had scarcely pitched our tent and unloaded our camels, when we were interrupted by a visit from an Albanian soldier and an ill-looking fellow in the dress of a Coptic scribe, who demanded in a very insolent way to search our baggage. Before leaving Cairo we had taken the precaution of procuring from the Kiayah Bey, (or minister of the interior,) a tescheré, authorising us to pass the frontiers without being subject to any such vexations; but on showing it to these ruffians, they threw it from them with the greatest disdain, saying that they had nothing to do with the Kiayah Bey, that they were custom-house officers, and would persevere in their search. As I thought that they had no object in view but to obtain a *bacsheesh*, I determined to resist; and after some altercation, I desired Pearce to say that if they did not immediately quit the tent we would remove them by force. Seeing that we were well armed, and judging from Pearce's appearance and manner that his threat was very likely to be put into execution, they went grumbling away, and we heard no more of them: but I have no doubt that their visit was in some way connected with the events which followed.

Being much fatigued with our morning's march under a burning sun, we determined not to proceed any further that evening, and retired early to repose, intending to set out at day-break, and complete our next stage before the violent heat came on. On rising in the morning I was a little surprised at missing the fire-arms, which I was accustomed to lay beside me. Supposing, however, that they might have been removed by the servant in making preparations for our departure, I proceeded, without thinking more about it, to dress myself, when I found that some of my clothes also were wanting; and on looking round, I perceived to my no small consternation, that a pair of large Turkish *heybehs* or saddle-bags, which contained all my valuables, had disappeared also. It now occurred to me that we had been robbed during the night; I immediately gave the alarm: a general search was commenced; the pegs on one side of the tent were found to have been removed, and the melancholy truth was soon apparent, when among some broken ground and bushes about a quarter of a mile distant, we discovered the bags "gaping with a ghastly wound," through which all their contents had been extracted. The thieves had evidently proceeded in the most leisurely and methodical manner. They had removed the baggage to a convenient distance, and availed themselves of the clear moonlight to pick out such articles only as they thought valuable. Clothes, money, a very valuable gold watch,

a collection of medals, ammunition, fire-arms and instruments, were all gone; and so careful had been their selection, that they had taken the silver tops of an inkstand and left the glasses. Letters, papers, books, and a few other things which did not suit their purpose, we found scattered on the sand and among the bushes, and I was at any rate glad to recover so much from the wreck of my fortunes. I was not, however, the only loser. My Italian servant Biaggio, to whom I have before introduced the reader, had been in the habit of carrying twenty gold doubloons*, the whole of his capital, in a belt which never quitted his waist till this unfortunate expedition, when lulled into a fatal security he had deposited it among my baggage. As soon as his loss was confirmed, he burst out into the most violent expressions of grief, wept aloud, tore his hair, and called the Virgin and half the saints in the calendar to his assistance, with such piteous tones and grotesque gestures, that I could not in spite of my vexation refrain from a hearty fit of laughter. It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Jowett's packages remained untouched, owing perhaps to an instinctive repugnance which the robbers felt to the bibles and other devout books which they contained.

After the first shock of surprise was over, we held a council on the measures which in our present situation it would be best to adopt; and it was thought proper first to lay the case before the

* About 90*l.* sterling.

nearest local authorities. In spite of the plague therefore we repaired to the town, and surprised the Shekh by an early visit. After due deliberation, for which the usual ceremonies of coffee and pipes gave him ample leisure, he pronounced that the robbery must certainly have been committed by our own attendants, promised to take steps to recover the property should it have been conveyed to the town, and concluded by recommending us to return forthwith to Cairo, and lay our complaints before the Kiayah Bey. We were amused with his attempt to shift the suspicion from his own people; but to return to Cairo was absolutely necessary, as I had lost every thing, and was of course utterly unable to prosecute my journey. After leaving the Shekh, therefore, we went to a large encampment of Turkish cavalry, which lay on the opposite side of the town; when having explained the circumstances to the Bim-bashi who commanded, he appointed an officer and two soldiers to escort us, and we set out slowly and sorrowfully on our return.

Early the next morning we presented ourselves at the house of the consul, who was very much surprised to see us again so soon, and still more so when he heard the cause of our return, a similar misfortune not having for a long time occurred to any Frank travellers. We again went through the ceremony of quarantine in a separate apartment before we rejoined the other guests, but in the

meantime measures were taken for the recovery of the lost property. This was rendered more difficult by the circumstance of the plague being now at its height, and business being consequently in a great degree suspended. The disease had made its way into the Pasha's seraglio, one of his favourite wives had fallen a victim to it, and he himself had retired from the city to his palace at Shoubra. The English dragoman,—a good-natured and worthy man, so short in stature and so ample in size, that some of our party were wont to compare him to the figure of Canopus *,—was subject to such violent apprehension of the disease, that I believe no motive either of duty or of interest would have drawn him forth from his abode; and the only person whom I could make my *chargé d'affaires* on the occasion was the French dragoman, whose more moderate appointments gave him little to lose, and made him more anxious for gain. Through his intervention Mr. Salt transmitted a memorial to the Kiayah Bey, who promised to use all endeavours for the recovery of the property, and ordered a preliminary bastinado to be inflicted on some suspected persons, among whom were the *devigis* or camel-drivers who had attended us. I have no doubt that these men were engaged in the plot; but the actual robbers were probably the inhabitants of the town of Belbeis,

* That deity, it is well known, is represented by a human head rising from a large swelling jar.

who have the character of being very expert thieves, and are said to have a peculiar method of conveying away any objects of plunder by means of hooks and lines attached to them. This novel mode of angling they probably practised on the present occasion, and it may account for their having been able to effect their purpose with so little noise as not to have disturbed our repose.

After waiting for about a month, which was occupied, or said to be occupied in fruitless researches, and after several applications to the government on the part of Mr. Salt, (to whose friendly and strenuous exertions I was much indebted throughout the whole affair,) I was informed that there was no longer any chance of finding my property, but that the amount of it should be repaid me in money on my sending in a schedule and valuation of the different articles. This I immediately did; and after many delays, to which the plague in the first instance, and the fast of the Ramazan afterwards afforded a pretext, I succeeded at the end of about two months in obtaining the full of my demand, amounting to more than 9,000 Egyptian piastres, or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. This was not near the full value of the lost property; among which, moreover, were many things which in these countries it would have been impossible at any price to replace; and of the money received, a great portion was expended in presents and *bacsheeshes* to the numerous persons who

either had or pretended to have had a share in making good my claims. On the whole, however, I had great reason to be satisfied with the result of the affair, and to congratulate myself that the robbery did not happen in a civilized country. The custom of remunerating passengers for thefts committed within their territories has been common to almost all nations in certain stages of society. It still prevails in several provinces of the Turkish empire, as for example in Egypt, and in the Pashalik of Acre; and while the family of Karasman Oglou governed Ionia, it was practised in their dominions also. It is related that a travelling merchant one day overcome with fatigue, threw himself down to sleep in a grove of trees near Magnesia where they then resided. He had no one to watch him, and on awaking found that his horse had been stolen. He immediately repaired to the governor, complained of the theft, and put in his claim to compensation. "But how," said Karasman Oglou, "could you be so imprudent as to sleep without having some one to watch your property?" "I slept, Aga," replied the traveller, "because I thought that you did not sleep." And this ready answer procured him immediate compensation.

Though from me perhaps it may be an ungracious remark, yet it is not the less true, that the custom does not proceed from pure liberality, nor does the governor pay the indemnity out of his own treasury. He imposes an Avaniah or contribution on the district where the robbery took place;

and as the sum levied generally exceeds the amount of the loss, he thus, like an able financier, converts the public wrong into a private benefit.

But to return to my narrative.—We came to Cairo on the 4th of June, and there still wanted three weeks to St. John's day, when that benevolent saint drives away the plague, and allows the imprisoned inhabitants again to associate together. Ours was, however, a very comfortable prison. We had a house with spacious and cool apartments, a shady garden arranged in the English style, a library well stored with books, an endless variety of drawings and sketches, a large collection of Egyptian antiquities; and though last, not least in our esteem, an excellent billiard-table. With these resources time flew rapidly along: for myself I can truly say that the days of quarantine passed without a single moment of *ennui;* and I believe that I was not solitary in my feeling of regret, when the time arrived which was to open the doors to general society. Of this it must be admitted that Grand Cairo does not afford a very favourable specimen. The native Levantines are men entirely engrossed by business; and their ladies, devoting themselves to domestic affairs, are but little informed, and very few of them speak either French or Italian *. Among the Ita-

* We were dining one day with one of the principal merchants of Cairo, and my companion happened to sit next to a lady who was a native of Scio. He naturally turned the conversation on her countryman Homer, when she asked him with the greatest simplicity "whether Homer was not a Genoese."

lian settlers, however, there were some pleasant families; and all those who know Cairo will agree with me, that Madame B——, the wife of a foreign consul, and Madame L——, a native of Fiume, would be distinguished in any society. Soon after the expiration of quarantine, our domestic party was increased by the welcome arrival of Mr. W. Bankes and Mr. Beechey from Upper Egypt; and it was occasionally enlivened by Belzoni, who paid us two or three visits after his return from his excursion to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and who when in good spirits was a most agreeable companion. The heat for some time previous to the rising of the Nile was intense; and it was with difficulty that by carefully excluding the light and the air during the day-time, we could keep the temperature of the rooms as low as 84°. The thermometer on being carried out of doors flew up directly to 105° or 110°. We accommodated our hours to the climate and the general manners of the inhabitants: Rose at four o'clock, and rode out for an hour or two before sunrise, dined in the middle of the day, and then slept or reposed for two or three hours. After this we walked out or paid visits, supped soon after sunset, and went to bed about midnight.

It was about this time that an ostrich belonging to an English gentleman arrived at Cairo from Upper Egypt, and afforded us an opportunity of observing the curious peculiarity in the natural

history of that animal. The persons in charge of him observing his great propensity to hard substances, mistook unfortunately for his natural and ordinary diet things which were only the objects of his luxury; and while they gave him corn only occasionally, administered every day a certain portion of iron, chiefly in the form of nails, to which he occasionally added a knife or a razor, which he chanced to pick up; or a few loose buttons, which he pulled from the coats of his attendants. This metallic system did not however succeed; the poor bird drooped gradually, his strength just lasted him to walk with a stately step into the court of the consulate, and he died in about an hour afterwards. On a *post mortem* examination, at which I was present, about three pounds of iron were taken from his stomach. A considerable portion of the hardest parts, such as the blades of the knives and razor, was dissolved; and it is possible that the whole might, in time, have been digested, as the death of the animal was in part accidental, being immediately occasioned by a sharp boat-builder's nail, three or four inches long, which he had swallowed, and which had penetrated quite through the stomach and produced mortification.

The rise of the Nile,—to which so many different causes have been assigned by different writers, from the Greeks mentioned by Herodotus, some of whom seem to have guessed the truth*, to

* Euterpe 19.

one of our own early travellers, who attributed it to the "opening of the dams and sluices in Prester John's country,"—is still hailed by the Egyptians as the most welcome occurrence of the year. It is generally preceded by a heavy dew; and the inhabitants of Cairo, about the time that it is expected, may be seen sitting at night-fall on the house-tops, waiting for the welcome "drop," which will immediately refresh the parched air, and carry off any lurking remains of pestilence.

The day on which the water is admitted into the canals and reservoirs of Cairo is one of great rejoicing. The banks of the Khalidjé or grand cut, which communicates from the river to the city, are thronged with people, and numbers of workmen are in readiness to open a passage through the mound of earth which is built across it. The Kiayah Bey and other officers of state, attended by all "the Memphian chivalry," in their gayest attire, at length arrive; the signal is given, and the mound is broken down: but previously a small earthen image, which had been placed at the top of it, is thrown into the water. This is supposed to be a vestige of the ancient rite of sacrificing a virgin to the Nile on this occasion, and the disciples of Mahomet thus unconsciously preserve the semblance of a custom in use among the worshippers of Isis and Osiris. During the reign of the Mamelukes, we are told that the scene was enlivened by numbers of barges gaily decorated; but gaiety has

vanished under the gloomy despotism of the Turks, and a few crazy boats only now floated down the current.

Very soon after the expiration of the plague, the fast of the Ramazan commenced. In the appointment of this observance, it has been remarked, that the Prophet favoured the rich rather than the poor. The latter, being obliged to work during the whole day without the refreshment even of a glass of water, feel its effects grievously, especially when the revolution of the lunar year, by which the Mahometans measure time, brings the month of Ramazani into the long days and the intense heat of summer. To the rich, on the contrary, it is scarcely any penance, as they pass the greater part of the day in sleep, and devote the night to business or amusement. It was during this fast that I went with Mr. Salt to pay a visit to the Pasha, at his villa at Shoubra.

We left Cairo at about nine o'clock one evening on horseback, preceded by the consular janissaries, and by several men carrying poles, at the top of which were fixed iron lanterns, filled with combustible wood, the flames of which threw a glaring light over our cavalcade. An avenue of trees of about two miles long conducted us to the gates, where we dismounted, and entered the gardens, which are extensive and laid out in gravel walks bordered with orange-trees, almonds, peaches, and a great quantity of exotic plants, which the Pasha is fond of receiving from the different countries

where he has commercial relations. These different walks meet at the centre of the garden, where, in an open Kiosk, entwined with creepers and surrounded with fragrant shrubs, we found the satrap reclining on a crimson divan, and smoking from a rich golden *Nargillay**. M. Boghoz his chief interpreter and minister for foreign affairs, and Giovanni Bozri his physician, stood beside him; and a number of pages were placed at regular intervals, motionless and silent, their eyes intent on their master, and each ready in an instant to obey the slightest indication of his will. A fountain played into a reservoir of Italian marble; and on the pavement, which was of the same material, stood a large chandelier, which threw its light all around the pavilion, and discovered the varied groups of persons who were waiting for an audience, as they glided along through the walks and shrubberies, now shining on the sober blue benish of a Jewish or Armenian merchant, or the dingy mantle of a Bedouin Shekh, and now on the rich drapery of a Mameluke, or the white skirt and embroidered vest of an Albanian chieftain. The Pasha, like all Turks of distinction, was more plainly dressed than his attendants. He was a fair and healthy-looking man, between fifty and sixty years of age, with a thin gray beard, and a countenance, though agreeable, yet marked with a strong expression of cunning. He had not the dignity

* Better known with us by the Indian name of Hookah.

either of appearance or manner which generally belongs to a Turk of high rank. He talked with great freedom, seemed fond of treating every topic *en bagatelle*, and sometimes pushed back his turban from off his forehead, and gave himself up to an unconstrained fit of laughter.

The history of the rise of Mahomet Ali is well known. He is a native of Salonica, and came over to Egypt during the stormy times which succeeded to the expulsion of the French, as a Bim-bashi or leader of a thousand Albanian soldiers. His superior skill or good fortune enabled him to get the better of all his competitors: he was invested with the Pashalik; and the massacre of the Mamelukes left him undisputed master of the country. Almost all the lands had belonged to them, and at their expulsion fell into his hands; but they were burthened with a sort of mortgages to a number of individuals called Moltazems, many of them residing in distant provinces of the empire, to whom allotments in the different villages had been assigned in perpetuity. Of these, however, the Pasha took possession also, they were declared to be no longer hereditary or transferable, and the proprietors were to receive their income at a valuation to be paid out of his treasury. The Wakouf, or endowments of the mosques and charitable foundations, were also placed on the same footing; and by these and other schemes of "equitable adjustment" he possessed himself by degrees of almost

all the landed property in Egypt. Almost every branch of trade too was placed under his management, and those who admire the restrictive system of commerce may see it here in full bloom and beauty; corn, rice, meat, vegetables, and every other article of produce, are subjected to the strictest monopoly. The coarse cotton which is manufactured by the wives of the peasants cannot be employed for clothing their families till it has been sold to the Government and re-purchased at an advanced price; and even the homely fuel of the country must pass through the Pasha's magazines*. At the suggestion too of the various European projectors by whom he is surrounded, he has attempted to introduce several branches of foreign manufactures; and the Egyptians may have the satisfaction of buying silks and velvets, the product of native industry, at about double the price for which they could be imported from France. The bright side of his administration is the establishment of a system of police, which, though it was carried into effect by the utmost severity and cruelty, has produced a degree of tranquillity and security which Egypt had not enjoyed for ages. Previously to the French invasion the country above Cairo was scarcely better known than the interior of Africa, in con-

* In a country where there is neither wood nor coal, that useful animal the camel supplies fuel also; and the "*Pacha liberal*" of the European journals has sometimes been greeted by his own subjects as the "*Tadgr el Harra*," or Dung-merchant.

sequence of the difficulties thrown in the way of travellers by the lawless spirit of the inhabitants, which the French themselves were never able entirely to repress, but which has been completely subdued by the present vigorous government.

Mahomet Ali, though his successes against the Wahabee heretics and the recapture of the holy cities have procured him the reputation of being the Defender of the Islamite faith, is not supposed to be himself a very firm believer. He is regular in his attendance at the mosque and in the outward observances of his religion, but in private he makes little scruple of avowing his real sentiments; and like many strenuous supporters of other creeds, he probably thinks the faith chiefly valuable for the advantages which he derives from the profession of it. The same freedom of opinion prevails among most of the great Turks of Egypt, and the Christians of the higher classes are supposed to be tainted with a similar "latitudinarianism," owing perhaps in part to their intercourse with the French republicans, and in part to the indifferent character of their clergy*.

Soon after the termination of the Ramazan, the

* I was amused at the way in which an old Levantine merchant, who considered himself to have been injured by the intrigues of a priest, expressed to me in bad Italian his dislike of the whole order. "*Preti,*" said he, "*diabli siguro—Buonaparte date bastoni assai—quando Buonaparte date bastoni, mi dentro cuore piacere.*"

Pasha went according to his annual custom to Alexandria. Mr. Salt and the other members of the mission soon followed him, and I began to make preparation for my departure also. I found an agreeable companion in the Baron Sack, whom I have before mentioned, one of the king of Prussia's chamberlains, who having passed great part of his earlier life in South America, in making collections in natural history, was following up his favourite pursuit in these countries, in defiance of ill-health and at the advanced age of nearly seventy years. We hired for interpreter a Greek named Giorgio Luigi, who, unlike his countryman Constantino Dracopolo, proved an active and useful servant. He was a tailor by trade: but this, in a country where every man sits crosslegged, does not imply any degradation.

I cannot take leave of Cairo without devoting a few lines to my former travelling companion, Nathaniel Pearce; a man the real vicissitudes of whose life need hardly fear to be put in competition with the fabled adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Like that hero, he was born of respectable parents and received a tolerable education, but his wandering disposition soon led him into the sea-service, and at the very commencement of his career, while yet a boy, he showed signs of the enterprising spirit by which he was afterwards distinguished. He was taken prisoner in an action immediately preceding the memorable First of June, and was con-

fined at Vannes, in the same prison with a number of the victims of the French revolution. With some of them he plotted an escape; but being arrested before they could reach the coast, he was compelled to witness the execution of his unfortunate companions, who were shot one after the other on the *glacis* of the fortress, and was warned that the same fate awaited him if he again engaged in such an enterprise. The threat did not deter him, however, from making another attempt, and this time he succeeded in conveying a party safely on board an English cruizer. He afterwards entered on board a man-of-war (the Sceptre I believe), which was lost near the Cape of Good Hope. He sunk with the wreck, and after suffering the pains of drowning, (which he described as not being very severe,) was brought to life again by the care of some Dutch settlers on the coast. He then went into the India Company's service on a voyage to China, but landed at one of the Malay Islands, and remained among the natives there till the ship returned from Canton. He was subsequently on board a ship of war stationed at Bombay, from which his restless spirit again tempted him to roam; and he joined the army of the Peishwa, who was then at war with the English. Peace unluckily for him, being soon afterwards concluded, he was given up as a deserter, together with several others of his countrymen, and they were confined in the fort at Bombay, and ordered to be tried by a court-martial. He con-

trived, however, to make his escape by swimming to the mainland, fled to Goa, and engaged himself as a sailor on board Lord Valentia's ship, which he found lying there. In this capacity he went to the Red Sea, where the ship having suffered some damage in a storm was forced to put back to Bombay. Pearce not venturing to return thither, went ashore at Mocha, and as a further protection embraced the Mahometan faith: but he soon became tired of his new profession; and having incurred some suspicion that his conversion was not sincere, he was glad to make his escape, and to rejoin Lord Valentia when he heard of his re-appearance on that coast. He then accompanied Mr. Salt on his journey into Abyssinia, and being pleased with the country determined on settling there; and entered into the service of the Raas Welled Selassee, viceroy of the province of Tigré. Having distinguished himself highly in several of the military enterprises of that warlike chief, he was placed in the command of a considerable body of troops;—married a relation of the Raas's wife: and Mr. Salt on his second visit to Abyssinia, found him living in great wealth and respectability, and highly esteemed by the natives *. At the death of the Raas, however, the Galla negroes, a powerful tribe on the frontiers of Abyssinia, who had been kept in check by his military prowess, made a successful irruption into

* See Salt's Voyage to Abyssinia, *ad loc.*

the country, and Pearce was stripped of all his property and obliged to fly into the mountains, where for a long time he endured the greatest sufferings, from want and disease. When tranquillity was again restored, he retired to the city of Antalow, and remained there for some time in poverty and distress; till at length, determining to place himself again under Mr. Salt's protection, he fled with one of his wives, (the Abyssinian Christians being indulged in a plurality,) and arrived at Cairo in the manner which I have before described. His wife survived but a few months: and soon after her death he set out for England, in the hopes of being employed to explore the interior of Africa,—a service for which, from various circumstances, he seemed to be peculiarly qualified; but he had only reached Alexandria, when he was carried off by a violent disease, at the age of little more than forty years,—"though few, yet full of fate."

He was a man of superior intellectual powers, of great observation, and able to communicate his thoughts in an original and vigorous style. Some of the letters which he wrote from Abyssinia to the East India Company's resident at Mocha, were published in the Asiatic Journal, at Calcutta; and he kept up also a regular correspondence with Mr. Salt, and had a large collection of manuscripts full of valuable information on his adopted country. These at the persuasion of his friends, he intended

to publish on his return to England, accompanied by a memoir of his eventful life; and when I left Cairo he was busily engaged in preparing them for that purpose. What became of them after his death I have never heard; but it is not likely that they will now ever see the light, and his name and history will remain in unmerited obscurity. He was altogether an extraordinary character. Great warmth of temper, and an unbounded spirit of enterprise were the sources of all his errors. His good qualities were courage, activity, intelligence, and zeal in the service of his employers. These I had full opportunity of observing during more than eight months that he was my constant, and frequently my only companion; and I am happy to pay this tribute to the memory of a humble but much valued friend.

On the 26th of August, in the evening, we left Cairo in an eight-oared cangia. The inundation was now at its height; the villages appeared like islands in a vast lake, and the verdure of the groves which surround them was most luxuriant. We drifted rapidly down the river, and with very little assistance from our oars reached Damietta about noon on the 28th, without any memorable occurrence by the way. This is a very picturesque town, situated at a bend of the river, and forming a crescent on its eastern bank. The houses are generally of a light yellowish colour; they are built almost close to the water's edge; most of them have arcades and balconies looking over the river; and the place has

altogether a Venetian air. I lodged at the house of the English agent, M. Surur, a young Levantine merchant, where I was treated with great attention and politeness; but I was obliged to trespass upon his hospitality much longer than I wished, in consequence of the *Bogaz*, or entrance of the river, which is about five miles below the town, being impassable for nearly a fortnight after my arrival.

CHAPTER IX.

PALESTINE.

On the 10th of September having received a more favourable report of the state of the *Bogaz*, we determined to try our fortune; and in the afternoon left Damietta in a large Germ and went down the river. The bar is formed by a moveable sand-bank, which shifts and becomes passable when the wind and the current of the Nile set in the same direction. The navigation, however, is always disagreeable and dangerous; and even now, though the weather had been moderate for several days, the bar was covered with a heavy surf, and the water was so shallow that the sandy bottom was often distinguishable between the waves. A solitary mast pointing out the spot where a Germ had been wrecked only a few days before, did not render the prospect more cheering; and I have seldom felt greater satisfaction than when our Arab crew, whose countenances had betrayed considerable anxiety, announced by an exulting *Yahullah* that the danger was over. The wind on the outside blowing very fresh, we had still to contend for some time with a heavy swell before we could join the vessel which was waiting under sail to receive us. It was a small polacca brig, so heavily

laden with passengers, baggage, and merchandize, and so low in the water, that we did not feel very comfortable till the wind had a little abated. The deck was completely covered with bags of rice, and we were glad to take refuge in the cabin; a dark low chamber, into which we were obliged to crawl on our hands and knees.

The wind continued favourable, and on the morning of the second day we made the land near Ascalon. We then shifted our course to a northerly direction, and ran along at about two miles distance from the shore till ten at night, when we anchored in the road of Jaffa. This coast is low and sandy, but in the interior we could discern the mountains of Judæa rising towards the north, and gradually sinking into the plain on the south. The next morning we landed, and were received on the quay by Signor Damiani the English consul. A more grotesque figure than this worthy gentleman it is difficult to conceive. He was a man of about sixty years of age, tall and portly. The lower parts of his dress were strictly oriental. He wore a crimson *jubbah*, much faded, and under it a striped silk *antari*, somewhat discoloured with snuff, and bearing marks on its ample front of having been present at many a rich repast. His hair was powdered, and fastened behind in an immense club, well imbued with pomatum; while his consular dignity was denoted by a cocked hat with a very broad gold lace, his whole appearance, as it has been re-

marked, forming a compound of the Turkish Aga, the French postillion, and the English beadle. He seemed however to be a friendly man, and invited us to lodge at his house during our stay.

After the miserable mud cottages of Egypt, Jaffa appears a neat and comfortable town. The houses are built of stone, and most of them are surmounted by cupolas. It appears to have been almost entirely rebuilt within a few years; and since the French invasion, the fortifications, which consist of a wall all round, and a *fossé* towards the land side, have been put into good repair. The situation is very agreeable; as it stands on an eminence, overlooking the sea on one side, and a fertile plain on the other. Being the nearest port both to Jerusalem and to Damietta, it is a considerable thoroughfare for pilgrims, and an emporium for the rice of the Delta. It is remarkable for its excellent gardens; and amidst a profusion of other fruit, its water-melons are so renowned for their size and flavour, that they are sent as welcome presents even to Constantinople. The town, with the surrounding district, is a dependence of the Pashalik of Acre; but it was for many years under the uncontrolled sway of Mahomet Aga, whose vigorous government produced general order and tranquillity in the neighbourhood, and caused the name of Abou Nabout*, by which he was com-

* Abou, or father, in Arabic phraseology is a term of very frequent, and to an European ear, sometimes of very whimsical

monly known, to be dreaded throughout all the country from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea. The intrigues of his enemies at Acre had lately occasioned his expulsion, and he had retired into Egypt, and placed himself under the protection of Mahomet Ali.

Jaffa or Joppa has been the scene of events recorded in fabulous, in profane, and in sacred history. The vision of St. Peter is that perhaps with which it is most generally connected; and a subterraneous apartment is still shown as having been the residence of Cornelius. At a later period it has been remarkable for those tragical scenes which have been supposed to cast a deep shade over the earlier career of the most distinguished individual of modern times. The information which I received on the spot, tended to confirm the accounts which he has himself given of those transactions: and now that mortality has in some degree removed the clouds of terror and hatred through which we were once accustomed to view his character, we may admit that the prisoners who were

application. Thus, from the strictness of his police, Mahomet Aga obtained the nickname of Abou Nabout, or "the father of the stick." When I put on the Turkish dress, and relinquished the use of the razor, I was soon distinguished from other English travellers, by the title of Abou Dakn, or "the father of the beard." A very fat man is called Abou Butney, or "the father of the belly;" and a double-barrelled gun, a weapon to which the Arabs have a great antipathy, is styled not less significantly Abou Butnein, or "the father of two bellies."

massacred being found in arms after having been once liberated on their parole, were by the laws of war placed at the captor's disposal; and that among the sick in the hospitals, there were few probably who, had the choice been offered them, would not have preferred the gentle "quietus" of an opium draught to the tender mercies of a Turkish conqueror.

We left Jaffa on the evening of the 13th of September; and after four hours ride through a pleasant country, arrived at Ramla, whose name is evidently corrupted from that of Ramah, which seems to have been common to many towns in Judæa. We halted at the convent of the Terra Santa, a large substantial building, capable of lodging thirty or forty persons, and which at the season of the pilgrimage is in general fully occupied. Its only tenants at present were two old friars, with venerable white beards, who received us with great hospitality.

On the following morning we applied to the commander of the Turkish garrison stationed here, for an escort; but he told us, that since the expulsion of Mahomet Aga, and the death of Suleyman Pasha, the reins of government throughout the Pashalik of Acre had been so much relaxed, that the Arab tribes were beginning to make incursions on the frontiers, and that he could not venture to weaken his force by any detachments. He offered us a passport, addressed to the Shekh of

the tribe which occupies the mountains between Ramla and Jerusalem; but we did not choose to trust ourselves, on the faith of such a document only, to this chieftain, whose name Abou Gosh, or the "father of lies," was of itself enough to excite suspicion; and we therefore determined to dispatch a messenger to himself, requesting that he would give us a safe-conduct, and send us an escort of his own people.

During our stay at Ramla the heat in the day-time was intense; but one evening we strolled out through a thick grove of Nopals * to a neighbouring mosque, formerly the church of the convent of the Forty Martyrs. Attached to this is a lofty tower, built in what we should call the Saxon style of architecture, from the top of which we had a view over the long and narrow plain, the Philistia of holy writ, which intervenes between the mountains of Judæa and the sea, and stretches on the south to Ascalon and Gaza, where it terminates in the sands of the desert. It is fertile and well cultivated, interspersed with numerous villages, and interesting from historical recollections. Here the Israelites contended with their inveterate enemies, and here in after-times the Crusaders encountered the Saracens.

* The Nopal, or prickly pear, is very abundant in this plain. The roads are frequently edged with it for long distances, and it sometimes grows to a very great size. I saw some stems as thick as the body of a common-sized man.

On the evening of the 15th our messenger returned, accompanied by two mounted Arab guides; and early on the following morning we set out on our journey. We halted at a little village at the foot of the mountains, where we were joined by three or four more ragged horsemen, and afterwards proceeded up a deep ravine, covered on each side with shrubs and stunted trees. The track was extremely rough and difficult; and the miserable horse which I had hired at Ramla, stumbling at every step, one of the Arabs very civilly offered me the mare which he rode, a lean half-starved-looking animal, which did not promise to be much better than my own. In spite, however, of her appearance I found her to be very swift, easy, and sure-footed, galloping among the slippery pebbles and fragments of rock as if it had been on level ground. On quitting this romantic pass, we entered on an upland country, broken into round hills and hollows, very stony, and thinly scattered with olive trees; and soon arrived at a little village, where are the remains of a very large and handsome Christian church, now converted into a shed for oxen. Among the ruins of this venerable building we found Abou Gosh, surrounded by his sons and brothers, handsomely dressed, and looking rather like a patriarch than a leader of banditti. He expressed great satisfaction at seeing us, told us that he considered the English to be his brothers, and pointed significantly to the white muslin turban

which he wore on his head, and the telescope which lay beside him, both of which he told us had been given him by travellers of that nation. The hint, however, was lost upon us, as we had not any thing in our baggage which we thought worthy of his acceptance; and after partaking of some bread, grapes, and coffee, we took our leave. The road as we advanced became more rough and stony, and the appearance of the country more desolate than before, till we at length descended into a valley, where a spring of water had produced some fertility. We halted in an orchard, and the peasants brought us some very good peaches and pomegranates. From thence we ascended another steep ravine, which opened on a barren heath, and we soon saw Jerusalem at a little distance before us. The first view of the holy city when approaching it in this direction is very striking, from the extreme solitude and desolation which surround it. The rocky plain at the edge of which it stands is not enlivened by a single habitation, and its lofty gray Saracenic walls harmonize with the wildness of the scene.

We entered by the western gate, and a few narrow streets soon brought us to the convent of the Terra Santa, where travellers generally lodge; a large building, occupying almost exclusively the north-western angle of the city. Like most of the oriental monasteries, it is a place of strength; and we had to pass through several dark vaulted

passages and iron gates before we arrived at the inner court, where we were received by the *Padre Forestiere*, or Friar, whose office it is to take charge of pilgrims and sojourners. As soon as the usual salutations had passed, we availed ourselves of the little daylight that remained, to walk out on the terraced roof of the convent, the view from which is singularly impressive. To the westward we looked back on the rugged hills which we had passed over in our day's journey; to the south, just without the walls, a slight eminence crowned with a small mosque is supposed to mark the situation of Mount Sion, which slopes down again on the opposite side into the deep valley of Hinnom. On a gentle declivity, bounded on the westward by the valley of Jehoshaphat and the brook Kedron, lies the whole of the modern town: the most remarkable objects in which are the church of the Holy Sepulchre, not far removed from the walls of the convent; and the mosque of the Kaliph Omar, the most ancient and most sacred of the Mahometan churches, whose spacious courts and ample dome occupy a large platform, the traditional site of the Jewish Temple. On the opposite side of the valley of Jehoshaphat, the Mount of Olives rises, still covered with the trees from which it derives its name; some of them of such extraordinary size, as almost to countenance the popular belief that they are the same which were growing in the garden of Gethsemane at the time of the Passion. More to

the southward are seen the barren and desolate mountains where David sought refuge from the pursuit of his jealous sovereign; and the interval between them and the Mount of Olives opens a view of the Dead Sea, and the abrupt rocks which bound its eastern shores. At sunset we retired to the dark and gloomy dormitory, which for one hundred and fifty years has been appropriated to those who come to visit the holy place: a few chairs, tables, and bedsteads of the most ordinary kind are its only furniture; but the names carved on the doors, the beams, and the window-shutters, afford a curious record of the numerous travellers, chiefly Englishmen, who have been its inmates, from Humphry Edwin, in 1699, to William Austin, in 1816.

As the Friars of the Terra Santa must often be mentioned in a tour through the Holy Land, it may be as well to give some account of them at its commencement. They are the peaceful successors of those military orders, which for two centuries were devoted to the protection of the Holy Sepulchre. After the final expulsion of these latter, the different Mahometan Governments, which in rapid succession occupied Palestine, found it their interest to afford some facilities to the numerous pilgrims who, in the dark ages, frequented the holy shrine, and by treaties with the different Christian states they granted certain immunities to the Franciscan Friars, who claimed a prescriptive right to

be its guardians. Those members of the Order who are employed in this service, enjoy certain peculiar privileges, and form an almost distinct class under the title of Friars of the Terra Santa. Till the Reformation, their ranks were filled from all the Christian countries in Europe; but after that event, and when the spirit of devotion among the northern Catholics began to decline, they were almost exclusively supplied from the southern states, and the higher offices were in turn filled by Frenchmen, Italians, and Spaniards. Each convent has a "superior," who directs the spiritual, and a "procurator," who manages the temporal affairs, and these are chosen every two years from among the most able members of the Order.

The piety of almost all the princes of Europe, as well as the liberality of their subjects in former times, contributed annually large sums to the support of these ecclesiastics, and to the building and establishment of the convents in which they reside; but of late years, the funds arising from these sources have been greatly reduced. The revolution in France completely cut off all the supplies, both of men and money, which had been drawn from that country; and for a long time, Spain and Portugal were the only contributors. On looking over the long list of benefactors, for the repose of whose souls almost daily masses are celebrated at Jerusalem, I found that a very large proportion of them were inhabitants of the South

American colonies of those two nations, and especially of Brazil. A ship arrives every year at Jaffa freighted with donations, which consist partly of specie, partly of jewels, plate, and rich clothes for the service of the altar; and partly of *baccalá*, or salt-fish,—a more humble, but perhaps not less serviceable article to an order of men whose fasts are so frequent as those of the Franciscans. The estimated value of this cargo for the year that I was in Syria, was said to be nearly a hundred thousand dollars from Spain and Portugal, besides a small sum sent from Naples, as an earnest of the reviving piety of that kingdom under the auspices of a legitimate government. These sums, large as they may appear, are not considered at all adequate to keep up the establishment in its original splendour: several of the convents are shut up, and none of them contain their full complement of friars. Besides the current expenses, large sums are continually required to satisfy the rapacity of the Turks. Independent of the annual tribute paid to the Porte, the Pasha of Damascus and his agent the Motsellim of Jerusalem derive a considerable revenue from granting permissions to repair the convents, and from various other exactions, for which a Turk is never at a loss to find a pretext. The governor of Jaffa, besides imposing a tax of so much *per* head on every pilgrim and friar who comes or departs, must be paid for the liberty of landing the treasure; and if Abou Gosh did not

receive a handsome *bacsheesh*, it would be vain to expect that the ark should pass untouched through the borders of the Philistines. The Latin fathers, too, have to contend with formidable rivals in the Greek schismatics, who previously to the late revolution were rapidly increasing in wealth and power, and who, not contented with the liberty of performing their heretical rites in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, pretended to the exclusive possession of it, and sometimes attempted to assert their pretensions by force. Maundrell tells us, that in his time it was not unusual for the contending parties "to proceed to blows and wounds even at the very door of the sepulchre, mingling their own blood with the sacrifices;" and a similar scene took place the year before I was there, when the Latin priests during the performance of some part of the ceremonies of the Easter week were furiously assaulted by the Greeks, and some of them wounded in the affray. The Turks are not slow to profit by these dissensions; and by now favouring one party, and now the other, succeed in draining the pockets of both by fines and bribes.

The principal seat of the order of the Terra Santa is Jerusalem; but their establishments are spread throughout Palestine and Syria, and they have several convents in Egypt; for in their original institution, besides being guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, they were considered as missionaries to heretics and infidels. But the bigotry which must

necessarily prevail in all countries where religious differences involve political degradation, has rendered this part of their duty so hopeless, that it has become a sinecure, and I never heard of their even attempting the conversion of either Greek or Mahometan. They are also curates of the Latin churches; but in the execution of this office they do not gain much good-will. Since the diminution of their external resources, they are obliged to make large drafts on the liberality of their flocks, who pay unwillingly for the privilege of exercising their religion in the conventual churches; and the right which, as confessors, they assume, of entering at pleasure into the women's apartments, exposes the Oriental Christian to the sneers of his Mahometan neighbour, who closes the door of his harem against every male intruder whose discretion is guaranteed by the sacredness of his character only.—But whatever may be the spiritual remissness or local unpopularity of the order, a traveller, and particularly one who travels alone, cannot but view it with feelings of respect and gratitude; and when after days passed among barbarous tribes, whose language is unintelligible to him, after being lodged on the bare ground or in some miserable hovel, and fed with the coarsest fare, he at length arrives at a convent, and finds a cordial reception, a clean and comfortable cell, a well-supplied refectory, and some jolly friars for his companions,—he will be disposed to think that super-

stition would have done little harm in the world, had all her institutions been like those in the Holy Land.

The superior of the order, who is dignified with the title of *Reverendissimo* (most reverend), while the superiors of convents are contented with the more humble style of *Molto Reverendo* (very reverend,)—was this year a Maltese. He was absent;—a circumstance which we regretted, as we were told that he was a very agreeable man, and always paid great attention to his English fellow-subjects. On the morning after our arrival we paid a visit of ceremony to the *Vicario* and the *Procuratore*, the two officers next in rank, both of them Spaniards; the former a good-natured laughing little person,—the latter well-stocked both with national and official *hauteur*. We then went to smoke our pipe with the Motsellim, and these customary preliminaries being concluded, we were left to pursue our walks and survey the curiosities of the place. We were conducted by the dragoman of the convent, a very important personage, who makes a handsome income by acting as *cicerone*, and performing other services for travellers.

Jerusalem is situated on rather a steep descent facing the south-east, and is surrounded by very strong walls, built probably since the period of the Crusades, and still in perfect repair. The attempts of travellers and antiquaries to reconcile its present position with the descriptions of history, have not

been very successful; and we look in vain within the circuit of the modern city, for the "duos colles immensum editos*," which were the distinguishing features of the ancient. One of these lofty hills must have been obliterated by the accumulation of ruins in the intervening valley, or the site of the place must have been changed since the reign of Vespasian. The large space within the walls is only partially occupied by houses, and the meanness of these indicates the general poverty of the inhabitants. Besides the convent of the Terra Santa, the Greeks and Armenians have each a similar establishment, and the members of those churches are supposed to be now more numerous at Jerusalem than the Catholics. The number of Jews assembled there has of late years been very much increased by emigrants from distant countries, drawn together by the expectation of the advent of their Messiah; but they are almost all of the poorer classes. The richer individuals of that nation are, I believe, generally disposed to think, that they have already

* Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11.—The commonly received topography of Jerusalem, though supported by the authority of D'Anville, will not stand the test of actual observation: and on the other hand, the theory which Dr. Clarke formed during his short visit, though stamped with his usual ingenuity, will probably be thought too violent a departure from local tradition. He supposes the deep hollow now called the valley of Ben Hinnom, to have been that which separated the two hills; and discovers the lost Mount Sion in an eminence to the south of it, now called the Mountain of Offence.

found the land of promise, and have no wish to exchange it for the barren hills of Judæa. The Mahometans form, perhaps, a third part of the whole population: the city is a dependency of the Pashalik of Damascus, and is governed by a Motsellim.

The regular survey which, in compliance with general custom, we made of the different holy places, occupied four days of almost constant industry. It was so tedious, and I may add so unsatisfactory, that I had not patience left to write any account of it; and indeed I could have done little more than copy the words of Maundrell, who in a pocket volume has given us as much accurate information and original remark, as would serve for the ground-work of at least one modern quarto. The host of minor antiquities which he enumerates; such, for example, as the houses of Annas and Caiaphas, the palace of Pilate, the window of the "Ecce Homo," the stations of the "Via dolorosa," and a hundred others,—are palpably apocryphal; and even the sites of Mount Calvary and of the holy sepulchre depend for their authenticity on the almost imperceptible thread of tradition to be traced through the dark interval between the final destruction of Jerusalem by Adrian, and the "Invention" of the cross by St. Helena.

But even supposing them the exact spots which they pretend to be, the zeal of ecclesiastics and the liberality of benefactors has so changed their original appearance, by a load of injudicious orna-

ment, that they fail to awaken any recollections of antiquity. "Those natural forms," as Sandys quaintly expresses it, "are utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard has made them less regardable." Walls encrusted with porphyry and jasper, and altars blazing with gold and jewels, meet the eye at every turn: a silver socket denotes the spot where the cross was planted; and the miraculous fissure of the rock is seen dimly through a narrow opening in a marble pavement. These misplaced decorations, however much they may dazzle the imagination of a southern Christian, will tend rather to disgust than to edify a less credulous believer, and will confirm, rather than remove, the doubts which he may entertain as to the reality of the places themselves. "*Enfin*," says Chateaubriand, "*s'il y a quelque chose de prouvé sur la terre, c'est la verité des traditions Chretiennes à Jerusalem.*" And in this instance at least, he will not be very far from the truth who shall adopt an opinion exactly opposed to that of the eloquent Frenchman.

September 23rd.—We set out from Jerusalem in the evening, and after crossing the valley of Hinnom passed over a high plain to the Greek convent of St. Elias, from whence we saw at a distance the little town of Bethlehem, situated on the brow of a hill. The road thither led us through a hollow way supposed to be the valley of Rephaim*; and after

* See 2 Samuel, v. 22.

about two hours ride we arrived at the convent, a lofty and massive building, which towers like a fortress over the surrounding houses. The friars received us very hospitably, and we were comfortably lodged for the night in a large saloon, appropriated to the use of strangers. The next morning we went into the conventual church, which has a wide and lofty nave, supported by four rows of columns: underneath it is the cave of the Nativity, the descent to which is so steep and narrow that it is difficult to conceive how it ever could have been used as a stable. It is now profusely enriched with shrines and altars, and a radiated piece of *jaune antique* inlaid on the marble floor, denotes the exact spot over which the star rested. The principal grotto is surrounded by several smaller ones, now converted into chapels, which are dedicated to St. Joseph, St. Eusebius, the Holy Innocents, and other saints. One alone, called the School of St. Jerome, remains in its native rudeness. It is said to be the place in which that saint translated the Scriptures, and a more gloomy retreat can scarcely be conceived.

The town consists of one street and a number of scattered houses, and the population is estimated at about two thousand, almost all Catholics. The women are generally well-looking, and the men a fine athletic race. Some of them are employed in the manufacture of chaplets, and images of the Virgin and saints carved in mother-of-pearl, which, after

having received benediction at the altar of the Holy Sepulchre, are supposed to possess great virtue, and are circulated in vast quantities throughout Christendom. Most of the inhabitants, however, follow the pastoral life, and feed their flocks on the surrounding hills. A predatory warfare is almost continually kept up between them and the Arabs of Abou Gosh, and many a gallant shepherd still goes down from Bethlehem to encounter the unbelievers in the valley of Elah*.

About the middle of the day we set out on our way to Hebron; and after riding for about an hour, came to three very large tanks or reservoirs placed one above the other on a gentle slope between two hills. They are cut out of the solid rock, and from their size and depth must have been works of very great labour. They were, no doubt, intended for the supply of Jerusalem; and some remains of aqueducts are still to be seen on the road to that city:—of their date nothing is known; but, like all other great monuments of antiquity in Syria and Palestine, the popular belief attributes them to Solomon. The spring from which they are supplied, and a few straggling olive-trees on the side of the hill, are supposed to be the "sealed fountain," and "the inclosed gardens," to which he compares his spouse†; and the remains of some vaulted apartments are pointed out as having been the residence of the

* See 1 Samuel, chap. xvii.

† See Solomon's Song, chap. iv. ver. 12.

royal concubines, who, if this tradition be true, must have been contented with much more humble accommodation than would satisfy persons of that class in the present day.

The country had a less wild and barren appearance as we approached Hebron, which is about six hours ride from Bethlehem. It is now called El Khalil, and is a large village on the side of a hill, with a narrow plain in front of it, beyond which rises another range of hills clothed with vineyards and olive groves. It has a high reputation for sanctity both among the Jews and Mahometans, as having been the burial-place of Abraham; and the tomb of the patriarch is shown in a large mosque, once a Christian church. It resembles exactly the *Turbéhs*, or monuments of the Turkish sultans: like them it is decorated with rich shawls, and lamps are kept continually burning round it. The population of El Khalil is entirely Mahometan.

September 25th.—We arrived again at Bethlehem in the middle of the day, and returned in the afternoon to Jerusalem by a circuitous route, taking in our way the wilderness and convent of St. John the Baptist. The former is now a cultivated field, thickly scattered with olive-trees; the latter is esteemed the handsomest of all the Terra Santa convents. The church, which is said to be built on the spot where St. John was born, is of very good design. It is surmounted by a cupola, and is remarkable for a very fine organ and some beautiful Mosaic pave-

ment. It is comparatively a modern structure, being yet unfinished when visited by Maundrell in 1697; and he tells us, that the expense of building it had been at that time so great, that each stone was estimated to have cost a dollar.—We had now completed our survey of all the holy places, which are guarded with so much care and kept up at so great expense in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; but we agreed, on re-entering the city, that nothing during our visit had so forcibly reminded us of sacred story as the lepers whom we saw sitting in the gate.

From the accounts which I had heard of the ruins at Jerash in the mountains to the eastward of the river Jordan, I felt a great curiosity to see them. They had been discovered some years before by the German Seetzen, but very few European travellers had since visited them. Among these was Mr. W. Bankes, who recommended to me, as a guide in the journey, a Bedouin named Mahomet el Daoudi, belonging to a small tribe in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Soon after my arrival I sent for this man, and he undertook to conduct me safely to Jerash, and back to Nazareth. As this is not an ordinary route, I found it impossible to hire horses; and I therefore purchased one for myself and another for my dragoman Giorgio, for both of which I paid only the moderate sum of eight hundred piastres, or about twenty-five pounds. I laid aside also my Turkish dress, and arrayed myself

in the coarse linen shirt and trowsers, the sheepskin pelisse, the striped mashlakh, and yellow keifféh of the Bedouins. The Baron agreed to accompany me as far as the Dead Sea; and it was arranged that he should afterwards return to Jerusalem, and proceed with the heavy baggage which we left there, to meet me at Nazareth. I took nothing with me except a few light articles which could be carried on the horses we rode, and a small stock of dollars tied round my waist in a leathern girdle, which had once been the companion of Shekh Ibrahim's wanderings, and which had been given me at Cairo by his faithful attendant Hadgi Osman.

We set out from Jerusalem on the 29th September, attended by one of the Janissaries of the convent, and by a soldier whom the Motsellim sent with us for further security; but who knew nothing of the road, spoke little, and was perpetually employed either in smoking or in filling his pipe. Winding round the southern side of Mount Olivet, we soon came to the village of St. Lazarino, the supposed site of the ancient Bethany, where the house in which the saint and his sisters resided, and the tomb from which he was raised, are still exhibited. Here the Bedouin, who durst not venture into Jerusalem, was waiting for us; and after about two hours ride over stony and barren hills, we reached a valley, and a small pool of water called the Fountain of the Apostles, near to which his tents were pitched. Several of his children came out to

meet us. The eldest of them having on some occasion fallen into the hands of the Turks, Mr. Bankes had procured his liberation, a service which his father said would for ever attach him to the English.

After a short halt we gradually ascended into a range of mountains of a peculiar character, and bearing strong marks of a volcanic origin. They are without the slightest trace of vegetation; and the masses of porous and crumbling rock of which they are composed, are piled one upon another with fantastic irregularity. The road in some places lay through ravines so deep as almost to exclude the sun, in others it overhung precipices without any other protection than a broken wall. The soft stone is hollowed out into caverns, which have been the haunt of banditti from the time "when a certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves," till the present day, when a similar misfortune befel one of our own countrymen*. As we were riding along, our guide, who had advanced a little before us, suddenly clapped spurs to his mare, and dashed out of the road to the entrance of one of these caverns. We followed him; and found within it the naked corpse of a man recently murdered, his throat cut across with a deep wound. This ghastly object added fresh horror to

* The late Sir Frederick Henniker, who was desperately wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life on this road.—See his Tour.

the desolate scenes around us; we drew our files closer, and hurried on. Our guide told us that it was the body of a shepherd who had been killed by some robbers the day before: and from the readiness with which he directed his course to the exact spot where it lay, I could not help suspecting that he knew more of the transaction than he was willing to acknowledge.

After several hours riding through these wild mountains we began to descend, and from a projecting brow caught a view over the fertile plains of the Jordan. Though at this time of the year they were parched and sun-burnt, yet the sight of them was refreshing after the stony and barren country to which we had been of late accustomed, and the leafless hills which we were now passing over. On the nearer side of the plain, at the edge of a wood, was seen the village of Riha, generally supposed to represent the ancient Jericho. The Jordan, though low at this season, could be discerned at intervals glittering through the brushwood with which its banks are covered; and beyond it were the plains of Moab, and the mountains from whence the prophet beheld the promised land. On our right the Dead Sea extended its unruffled surface; and on the left, in the distance, we saw the rich possessions of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, bounded by the mountains of Gilead.

The word Riha, in Arabic means "perfume," and the name of Rahab, which in the days of Joshua

belonged to one of the inhabitants of Jericho, has in Hebrew the same signification; and I believe there is no better ground than this slight coincidence, for assigning to the modern village the site of the ancient city. But however that may be, the name appeared to us extremely ill-applied; for as we approached, we were assailed by the most noisome odour that I ever experienced. Some murrain or pestilential disease prevailed among the cattle, and numbers of dead cows and oxen were lying by the road-side, half-devoured by kites and jackals. The inhabitants were too indolent either to remove or bury them; and the whole air was tainted with the effluvia of their putrefying carcases. This nuisance is a frequent accompaniment even of the most considerable Turkish towns, the metropolis itself not excepted; but I do not recollect ever to have perceived it in so great a degree as on the present occasion. The village consists of a few stone huts surrounded by a strong fence made of the branches of the nopal. The only substantial building is a square tower, probably of the age of the Crusades, but which is called the house of Zacchæus. It was now occupied by a Turkish officer, who was stationed here with a party of about forty horsemen, to repress the incursions of the Bedouins. We called upon him immediately on our arrival, and presented our *buyurdhi*, or passport, from the governor of Jerusalem; and afterwards we retired to the Manzul, or place appointed for the

reception of strangers. This is the "guest chamber" of the Scriptures; and there are few Arab villages so poor as not to have a room appropriated to this purpose, where travellers are lodged and fed at the public expense. At Riha it was a large hut open on three sides, and covered with a roof of leaves supported on poles. As soon as we had taken our station there, the natives gathered round us, and the Frank dress of the Baron excited some surprise and merriment among them. The men were a fine strong-looking race; the women were some of the ugliest I ever beheld, and their hands and arms were dyed with a deep blue up to the elbows. Their children, whom they brought to present to us, had their heads dressed up with little bits of tinsel, and a few beads and feathers; but their bodies were nearly naked, and encrusted with dirt: we distributed a few paras among them, and they went away quite contented. At sunset the men assembled and recited their prayers with great solemnity; after which they squatted down round a fire that was kindled in front of the Manzul, where they remained smoking, talking, and telling stories till midnight, to the no small interruption of our repose.

On the following morning at sunrise we set out to visit the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. On this expedition it is usual to be accompanied by an escort; and accordingly, as we passed the Aga's gate, ten or fifteen wild-looking cavaliers turned out to

attend us. From the appearance of their horses, arms, and accoutrements, we were not disposed to think that they would contribute much to our safety; but they afforded us some diversion, as we rode along the plain, by different feats of rude horsemanship, which ended in two of them being rolled in the dust, amid the shouts of their companions.

In about two hours we arrived at the edge of a steep bank, which sloped down to a tract of ground considerably lower than the rest of the plain. This lower level is a characteristic feature of the plain of the Jordan during its whole course. In some places it extends for nearly half a mile on each side the river; and in the early periods of history it appears to have been occasionally overflowed, though that, I believe, now never happens. The drought of summer had at present contracted the stream into a narrow channel, not more than twenty paces in breadth. Its waters were of a milky hue, and rolled rapidly along with frequent eddies over a pebbly bed, and its banks were lined with birch, poplars, and evergreen shrubs, forming a tangled thicket. We sat down under the shade of a spreading thorn; and while we breakfasted, some of the more devout of our party bathed in the sacred stream. The Turks occasionally dashed through the river into the wood on the opposite side, fired off their pistols, and would have persuaded us on their return that they had seen Bedouins lurking there.

From this spot we directed our course to the

north-western side of the lake. The latter part of the way was through a glittering sand, distressing to our horses by its depth, and to our eyes by the strong reflection of the sun. In about two hours we arrived at the shore, which at this point is nearly level, shelving very gradually into the water. The beach is composed entirely of round pebbles thickly encrusted with salt; and it is strewed with branches and even trunks of trees, brought down by the winter floods, and enveloped in a similar coating.

The lake stretched before us as far as the eye could reach, between two ranges of mountains, those on the eastern shore rising almost perpendicularly from its edge. Its unruffled surface and smooth sandy bottom tempted me to bathe in it; and I found the water deepen so gradually, that I walked for nearly half a mile before it was up to my chin. It had a very soft and pleasant feel, and was extremely buoyant. At this point, so near to the *embouchure* of the river, its saline particles must be much diluted by the fresh water which flows into it; we may therefore easily believe that its specific gravity at its further extremity may be much greater, although we may be permitted to doubt the result of the Roman emperor's experiment*. The great

* "Vespasian coming thither to see it, took men who could not swim, and caused their hands to be tied behind them, and cast them into the midst thereof; and all of them came up to the top of the water, as if some wind had forced them from the bottom."—Josephus, book v. cap. 5.

quantity of salt and other substances which the water contains makes it extremely pungent; and on putting my head under it, I immediately felt a violent smarting and irritation in the lips and eyes, which I did not get rid of for several hours afterwards. Besides its extreme saltness, the water has also a remarkably bitter taste, which the salt extracted from it still retains, and communicates to all the eatables it is mixed with.

The wildness and desolation of the shores of the Dead Sea, the peculiar character of its waters, and the generally diffused belief that it was produced by a special interference of Providence, have naturally given rise to much exaggeration, and have enveloped it in a cloud of fable. Like the Grecian Avernus, it has been described as sending forth exhalations fatal to animal life; and pilgrims who have wandered along its shores, have fancied that they could

> "See the towers of other days
> In the waves beneath them shining."

But birds have been actually observed to fly over it; and if any ruins are to be discovered beneath its surface, they are the foundations, probably, of buildings more modern by some thousands of years than the five cities of the plain. The apples of Sodom, on the other hand, which were long considered as a mere poetic fiction, have been found to have a real existence: I have seen at least some specimens, collected on the southern shores of the lake by a well-known traveller, of a

fruit which completely answered the description given of them. It had externally the appearance of an apple, or rather perhaps of a peach; but the thin skin instantly broke under the touch, and nothing was found within but a small quantity of powder.

It is an old, and indeed an obvious notion, that the Jordan originally flowed into the Red Sea, and that its course being suddenly stopped by some great convulsion of nature, it formed this basin for itself in the plains of Sodom. The fact appears confirmed by the researches of Shekh Ibrahim, who traced the ancient channel from the southern extremity of the lake to Akaba, the ancient Ezion Geber, at the head of the eastern branch of the Red Sea; and it has been conjectured, with great appearance of probability, that the effect was produced by a vast torrent of lava or other volcanic matter pouring itself into the bed of the river, and forming a dam which arrested the further progress of the stream.

Our adventures to-day were very near having a tragical conclusion. At breakfast the servants had incautiously distributed some aqua vitæ among the soldiers, who not being accustomed to such strong potations, soon became noisy and tumultuous. While I was bathing in the lake, they amused themselves by firing ball cartridges over my head; and one of them afterwards having rode a great way into the water, his horse fell with him, in returning over some slippery stones which are intermixed with the sand, and he was very near being suffocated before

he could disentangle himself from the stirrup; his companions all the while looking on with the utmost *sang froid,* and not offering him the least assistance. He escaped drowning ; but was completely drenched and sobered, and not in a very fit humour to enjoy the jokes which the other soldiers passed upon him as we returned home. A general affray was the consequence; in which several pistols were fired, and one man was wounded with a sabre : the real danger of our excursion thus originating with the men who were sent to protect us, and to whom we were obliged to pay a *bacsheesh,* of forty *rubiehs,* or nearly four pounds.

It was my intention to have crossed the river a little above Jericho, and to have gone to Jerash by the way of Szalt, a large town situated at the foot of the mountains; but my guide Mahomet had heard of disturbances in that quarter, which he said would make the journey dangerous. He therefore advised me to travel up the plain on the western side of the river, till we could find some more practicable route; and as I was entirely in his hands, it was of no use to make any opposition.

October 1st.—Early in the morning we left Riha, and at a little distance from the village our party divided. Giorgio and the Bedouin remained with me, and the Baron returned to Jerusalem with the rest of the attendants, after trying in vain to dissuade me from what he considered a perilous enterprise.

We took a more northerly direction near the

foot of the mountains, and passed several spots of ground cultivated by small tribes of Arabs, who pitch their tents on the border of the desert, and hold a sort of middle character between the fixed inhabitants of the villages and the purely pastoral Bedouins. About noon we arrived at one of their encampments, situated on a rising ground, and commanding a beautiful view over the river and the plain. We rode up to the principal tent, and an old man came out to greet us. The usual salutation of kissing the cheek passed between him and Mahomet: the women brought out from an inner tent some mats and carpets for us to sit on; and in ten minutes time the coffee was roasted, pounded, boiled, and handed round. It is to the rapidity with which these processes are performed that the excellence of this refreshing beverage in the East is, in great measure, to be attributed. The coffee is roasted in a shallow iron ladle, pounded in a mortar of a cylindrical shape, with a pestle made nearly to fit, which prevents any of the finer particles from escaping, and boiled in "sherbet," that is, water which has been suffered to remain upon the grounds since the last time of making.

The shekh of the tribe soon made his appearance, and we asked his advice and assistance in the prosecution of our journey. He replied that the English were the friends of the Arabs, and that it was his wish that none of them should suffer any injury; for which reason he strongly dissuaded us from at-

tempting to pass through Szalt, and indeed from going at all into the mountains on the other side of the Ghor*. On cross-examining him, however, as to the state of affairs there, I soon found that he either could not, or would not, give us any accurate information, and I therefore requested him to send a guide with us to the next friendly encampment, which he consented to do; but previously to our departure he set before us some thin wheaten cakes, baked according to ancient custom "on the hearth†," and some grape juice boiled to a thick consistence, and called honey, though it much more resembled treacle in colour and taste.

We had not gone far from the camp before the dragoman found out that the ramrod of his gun had been stolen,—a circumstance easily to be accounted for by the propensity to thieving of which the Arabs, in the midst of their hospitality, can never entirely divest themselves. The fears of Giorgio, however, made him view it in a more serious light. He began to tell me of various significant looks and speeches which had passed amongst the people in the tent, and which made him suspect that they had a design to rob and murder us: he was now, he said, fully convinced that it was for that purpose they had attempted to render his fire-arms useless; and he concluded by earnestly intreating me to return as quickly as pos-

* The Arabic name for a plain or extended valley.

† Genesis xviii. 6.

sible to Jerusalem. This, however, I was resolved not to do; and I sent him back immediately to the tent, where he had no difficulty in recovering the lost property.

There was, I confess, something rather appalling in the sight of the immense plains which we were about to traverse at the mercy of two guides, who might, possibly, be treacherous. The ground was covered with a thick brushwood, through which our horses advanced with difficulty; and as far as the eye could reach, we could not discover the trace of a single habitation; except that before us we saw a thick cloud of smoke rising from the plain, which, our guide told us, indicated that some village had just been burnt by a hostile tribe of Bedouins. On a nearer approach, however, it turned out to be only the long grass which had caught fire,—an accident which frequently occurs in the Ghor, and sometimes produces very extensive devastation. About sunset we passed under a ridge of rocky hills extending from the mountains nearly to the river, and hollowed out into large natural caverns; and soon afterwards we came to a tract of high ground intersected by very deep glens and ravines, through which we should with difficulty have found our way if the moon had not lent us her assistance.

With the exception of the short halt at the Arab tent, we had been riding, without intermission, from four o'clock in the morning, and our horses and ourselves were nearly exhausted with fatigue and

hunger, when at about an hour before midnight a furious barking of dogs announced our approach to an encampment. We soon arrived, and were welcomed with the greatest kindness and cordiality, and conducted to a large tent, where the principal persons of the tribe were assembled. After the ceremony of coffee, I wrapped myself up in my mashlakh and lay down to sleep; but though fatigue for awhile got the better of hunger, I was not sorry when Giorgio waked me, and I saw placed before us a bowl of ample dimensions heaped up with boiled rice, round which ten or twelve of our hosts were seated. But alas! on tasting the mess I found, to my great disappointment, that it was seasoned with oil of so bad a quality, that, in spite of the long fast I had endured, and the courtesy which I was desirous of showing to these hospitable Arabs, I could scarcely swallow any of it; while they, on the contrary, crammed down large handfuls with the greatest satisfaction. After supper a musical instrument was introduced, a sort of mandolin with only one string, which was played upon with a bow of one string also. It was handed round, and several of the company exercised their skill, accompanying the music with their voice. Mahomet afterwards began telling a story, which soon had the beneficial effect of lulling me to sleep. The Arabs of this camp only repeated the vague rumours which we had already heard, of wars and disturbances in the opposite mountains. They told

us, however, that there was a powerful shekh encamped at a little distance on the other side of the river, who could at any rate inform us of the real state of the country, and could perhaps conduct us safely to Jerash. At day-break therefore we set out provided with a fresh guide, and descending the hills soon arrived in the lower plain of the Jordan, which was here so completely covered with thick underwood, that the camp we were going to was quite concealed from view, and we were not aware of our approach to it till we saw a few blood mares picketed in the shade, and some herds of ragged and puny cattle grazing at large in grass so luxuriant, that it rose above their heads. We soon arrived at an open space surrounded by black tents, to the largest of which we directed our course; and it being about noon, found, as usual, the chiefs of the tribe assembled there. The shekh himself was not present, but we were welcomed by a venerable looking old man, who seemed to be treated with great respect and deference by all the others. We had not been long in the tent, before two strangers of very imposing appearance arrived; they were men of lofty stature, and extremely handsome features, their complexions of the richest olive hue which a southern sun could bestow, and their teeth of sparkling whiteness; their hair hung down in glossy black ringlets from under their light yellow keiffĕh, and their dark eyes seemed lighted up by some strong passion. They returned in a distant

and haughty manner the *salaām* of the company; and placing themselves side by side at the upper end of the tent, received in silence the pipes and coffee which were handed to them. I found, on inquiry, that they were ambassadors from a neighbouring tribe, who came to demand compensation for some encroachment on their pasturage and abduction of their cattle, which they imputed to our hosts. When the shekh arrived, they began a conversation which soon grew very animated, and Mahomet desired me to withdraw to a neighbouring tent, as they would not like the presence of strangers while they were discussing their affairs. We derived some advantage from the arrival of these envoys, as, instead of the oiled rice of the preceding evening, we were regaled with a dish of excellent pillaff and part of a kid, which had been prepared for their entertainment; but which, as they could not procure satisfaction for their claims, they went away without deigning to taste. After they were gone, the shekh came to our tent, and told us that he would conduct us to Jerash, but that in the present state of the country he could not answer for our safety, unless we were attended by an escort of two hundred men. That number of his tribe, he said, would be willing to undertake the journey, but they must be liberally rewarded; and should any skirmish take place, and any lives be lost, I must agree to pay the "price of the blood." These proposals led so obviously to *bacsheesh*, that

I immediately rejected them; and thanking the shekh for his hospitality and good intentions took my leave. On going away he recommended me to halt for the night with a detachment of his tribe, stationed on the other side of the river, which we accordingly re-crossed; and at an hour's ride from the western bank we found a small camp placed in a most delightful situation. The valley which we had just quitted, covered with verdure and spotted with black tents, lay below us; beyond was a vast plain varied with groves of olive-trees, over which rose the mountains of Gilead, crowned by the castle of Rabboth. As soon as I had taken my seat on a carpet in one of the tents, I attempted to make a sketch of the landscape, but Mahomet presently gave me a hint to desist. To be seen writing or drawing, between which they make no distinction, calling both "muktoob," excites great jealousy and suspicion among the Arabs. They immediately conclude that you are a magician; and in consequence of this prejudice a traveller must often content himself with taking, by stealth, some short and unsatisfactory notes of what he sees.

A stranger, who like ourselves came to take up his night's lodging at this encampment, told me that he well knew the roads and the people in the mountains, and could engage to conduct me without any risk to Jerash. I was strongly inclined to believe what he said; but as I had no security for his fidelity, I thought it scarcely prudent to accept

his offer: I perceived too that my guide Mahomet had now proceeded nearly as far as his knowledge of the country extended, and that he was himself afraid of the Arabs of Ben-i-Sakr, a powerful tribe, who a few years ago emigrated from the interior of the desert, and established themselves in the plains eastward of the Jordan, and who were now in an almost constant state of hostility with the smaller tribes before settled in that fertile district. I determined therefore, though reluctantly, to give up, for the present at least, the principal object of this expedition, and passing round by the Lake of Tiberias to rejoin my companion at Nazareth.

October 3rd.—We travelled for some distance along the foot of the mountains, which at this point approached near to the river, but which at length suddenly retired to the westward, and opened before us an extensive plain watered with numerous streams and teeming with vegetation. The luxuriant grass was varied with occasional patches of Indian corn, and interspersed with oleanders and other shrubs; and here and there a solitary palm-tree reminded us of more southern climates.

At the northern extremity of this plain, which it took us about three hours to cross, is situated Bisan, a name in which we recognize the Bethsan of the Scriptures. Under the Romans it was called Scythopolis, and was the most considerable of the ten cities from which the province of the Decapolis took its name. It stands on the banks of a rapid

stream which flows into the river, and is crossed by a bridge of Roman workmanship still in very good preservation. Some very solid walls placed on a high round hill mark the site of the ancient acropolis; and on the opposite side of the stream are the remains of a small theatre. A very large space of ground is covered with fragments of stone and marble, and a few columns of small dimensions are still standing. The modern Bisan consists of a few huts built of rough stones, and inhabited by a scanty and miserable population, always in fear of the incursions of the Bedouins, whose large encampments are stretched out before their eyes in the plains below. The direct road to the Lake of Tiberias lay along the plain; but both Mahomet and the guide whom we hired at Bisan were so much in dread of the ferocious Ben-i-Sakr, that they led us by an intricate path among the hills, winding round knolls or diving into glens, to conceal us from observation, till about two hours after sunset the guide confessed that he had lost his way. We soon found ourselves on a high open down, commanding an extensive view, and where by the bright moonlight we could see at a distance any one who might approach us. I determined therefore to halt; and being very much tired I slept profoundly for two or three hours on the turf, under the shade of a solitary thorn bush, the attendants taking it by turns to watch. As soon as the hum of voices in the plains below had ceased, and the dreaded Bedouins were supposed to have retired

to rest in their tents, we set forth again in quest of a little village in the mountains, where our guide told us he had some friends, and which we found, after wandering about for two hours. We were immediately greeted by twenty or thirty dogs rushing out upon us in full cry, and the chorus was filled up by the discordant shrieks of women and children, who from our arriving at such an unseasonable hour took us for a party of Bedouins coming to attack their village. I was apprehensive that we should be fired upon; but our guide succeeded in making himself known, and gained admission for us into one of the huts, where we lighted a fire, boiled our coffee, and procured some chaff for our horses, which had eaten nothing for twenty-four hours. When we left the cottage at day-break, a beautiful view presented itself. The Lake of Tiberias, so interesting from its historical associations, lay at our feet; the river, emerging from it, wound its serpentine course along a fertile plain, and the mountains beyond were tinged with the deep purple hue which characterizes the sunrise of southern climates. Descending the hills, we soon arrived at the hot baths, which are situated at the edge of the lake; and we were glad to plunge our limbs, stiff with fatigue and chilled by the night air, into the almost scalding water.

About an hour's ride along the shores of the lake conducted us from the baths to Tabaria; and before we arrived there we observed numerous frag-

ments of stone, and some broken columns, which probably indicate the site of the ancient Tiberias. The modern town is surrounded by a very strong wall flanked with towers, and inclosing a large space of ground, only part of which is occupied by buildings. We halted at the house of the Greek Catholic priest, who received us very kindly. His apartment was small, and occupied indiscriminately by wife, children, and domestic animals,—but every grievance was forgotten when he placed before us a large dish of pillaff, a fowl, and a bottle of tolerable wine, which after four days' abstinence we found most acceptable. After dinner he conducted us to the church, a small vaulted building, in the middle of which he pointed out a fragment of rock, as the identical stone from which St. Peter derived his name: "Super *hunc* lapidem ædificabo Ecclesiam meam." The Apostle's net, he told us, still hung over the altar in the time of his predecessor, but had since disappeared.

The population of Tabaria is about four thousand, of which a small part only are Christians. The inhabitants are poor; and being liable to attacks from the Bedouins, who whenever they are at war with the Turks scour the country up to the walls, they have no encouragement to industry: some patches of Indian corn, and a few stunted olive-trees on the sides of the hills, are almost the only marks of cultivation: the silence of the streets is unbroken by the bustle of commerce, and not a

boat or a fisherman is now to be found on the Sea of Galilee. In the summer months, however, numbers of persons of all ranks, and from every part of Syria, flock thither for the benefit of the warm baths. A remarkable feature of Tabaria is the Jewish colony established there. It is on the shores of this lake that the Messiah is expected to appear, and devout Jews from almost every country are collected in expectation of that event. It is said that they compose a fourth part of the population of the place; and under the mild government of Suleyman Pasha, whose prime-minister, Malim Haym, was of their own persuasion, they enjoyed a perfect freedom, and were exempted from many of the oppressions to which they are elsewhere exposed. They live a sort of monastic life; reside in a particular quarter of the town, and the greater part of them are entirely devoted to religious exercises. Those of the poorer class are partly supported by the liberality of their richer neighbours, and partly by contributions from their brethren in different parts of the world, which are collected by missionaries whom they send out for that purpose. The most distinguished person amongst them at this time was Don Raffaelli Picciotto, a man who had enjoyed great reputation and possessed great influence throughout Upper Syria. He was long Austrian Consul at Aleppo; and his services there met with what to one of his nation was a singular reward,—the cross of Maria Theresa. He had re-

cently, however, relinquished to his son his consular dignity and extensive commercial affairs, and had come to end his days in retirement and devotion in this sacred spot. As I had letters of introduction to his son at Aleppo, I was desirous to pay him a visit; but unfortunately it happened to be the anniversary of some great festival among the Jews, and the gates of their quarter were strictly closed against all strangers.

We left Tabaria in the evening, attended by a guide. Our route led us over an open down to the westward of the town, from whence we had a view of almost the whole of the lake, which is said by Josephus to be twelve miles long and five broad. On the eastern side it is skirted by hills of moderate height, which at its northern extremity rise into mountains communicating with the southern branches of Lebanon. We deviated a little from our course, to visit some insulated rocks pointed out as the spot where the miracle of the loaves and fishes was performed; and at nightfall reached a small village called Lubli, situated on an abrupt stony eminence, and surrounded by groves of fig-trees and sycamores. We lodged in an open coffee-house; and the wind being very high, I found for the first time, after an interval of six months, a disagreeable sensation of cold.

October 6th.—I had given orders to have every thing in readiness to set out at day-break; and was therefore much surprised when I awoke to find the

sun already high above the horizon. On inquiring of the dragoman why he had thus neglected my instructions, he told me, that during the night some person had come into the coffee-house and hinted that we were spies from the Bedouins, who were encamped on the other side of the river, and who were waiting for an opportunity of making an incursion into this quarter; a suspicion for which I must confess that the poverty of our appearance afforded some ground. The Caffegí had in consequence resolved that we should be detained; but Giorgio, not wishing to communicate this unpleasant news sooner than was necessary, had let me sleep quietly on till the morning. He had scarcely finished his story, when the shekh and principal persons of the place began to assemble, and we immediately became the subjects of their conversation. A warm dispute arose as to how we should be disposed of; and I could understand enough of what was going forward, to perceive that but a small party was for allowing us to proceed on our way; while a great and clamorous majority was of opinion that we ought to be put in chains, and conducted to a Turkish camp in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately I had left my firman at Jerusalem, knowing that it would be rather injurious than serviceable to me among the Arabs whom I was going to visit; and the absence of this document was now very unfavourable to us, as we had only our own assertion to offer in proof of our real character.

The debate continued for a long time, almost every one present having something to say. Giorgio took an active part in it; and on this, as on other occasions, acted with a spirit which we should scarcely expect to find in one of his vocation*. Poor Mahomet crouched silently in a corner of the tent, with a very anxious and downcast look; and he had indeed reason for apprehension; for being really a Bedouin, if carried before the Turkish officer he was sure of being imprisoned and of losing his mare, if not his head. Any interference on my part, I knew, would be useless; I therefore desired to have my pipe lighted, and prepared patiently to await the decision of the assembly. The pipe, however, was no where to be found: it had been stolen during the night; and Giorgio dexterously availed himself of this trifling circumstance, to make a diversion in our favour. "Is this the way," said he, "that you treat the friends of your Sultan?—is this your hospitality to the stranger who has eaten bread with you? It is not because you take us for spies that you detain us here; it is that you are thieves, and want to rob us of our property." This appeal was not without effect: the Galilæans were evidently disconcerted; and one or two of those who had spoken violently against us, left the divan under pretence of seeking for the lost goods. A pause ensued, which was broken by the

* I have before mentioned that Giorgio was a tailor.

entrance of a man with only one eye, and otherwise of most forbidding appearance, but who seemed to command more attention than any other person who had addressed the assembly. "You know not what you are doing," said he: "If these men had killed one of your relations, or if they came to spy out the land, would they have ventured openly and unarmed into your house? Can you not tell by the stranger's tongue that he is an Englishman? and have not the English always been our friends? When the French came to seize our country and strip us of our property, who protected us but the English?" Then addressing himself to me: "*Bismillah*," said he, "in the name of God depart in peace, and may your journey be prosperous!" This speech was received by the audience with a murmur of approbation: the stolen pipe was found in a neighbouring cottage; and coffee was handed round as a pledge of reconciliation. I refused, however, the proffered hospitality, and mounted my horse, declaring that I would represent the whole affair to the government at Acre, and have the village laid under contribution,—a threat which I had as little the intention as the means of realizing.

On leaving the village we descended into a plain, at the extremity of which we saw Mount Tabor, distinguished from the surrounding hills by its flat or table summit. In approaching it we passed through some pretty forest scenery. The smooth turf was varied with open groves of Valaniah oak,

whose deep rich green was very pleasing to the eye, after having been so long accustomed only to the lighter hues of the palm or the olive-tree. Cows and sheep were straying in the woods, and groups of women and children were employed in watching or drawing water for them. Several coveys of partridges sprung up before us, and now and then a gazelle bounded lightly across the glade.

It took us nearly two hours to climb Mount Tabor, the road being very bad, stony, and entangled with the brushwood and thickets, which cover the sides of the mountain. The view from the top, however, well repays the trouble of the ascent. On the north, the stony hills of Nazareth are separated from the mountain by a narrow woody valley;—to the north-east are the plains of Galilee; and the lake of Tiberias is seen through the intervals of the hills which skirt its shores;—to the eastward, a succession of swelling downs extends to the plains of Jordan, and the view is closed in that direction by the mountains of Gilead. Southward, Mount Hermon is separated from the twin mountain by a valley, in which we are told was situated the village of Endor, where Saul consulted the sibyl; and beyond it are the mountains of Gilboah, where he perished. The wide plain of Edraelon or Jezreel spreads out to the south and west, until closed by a chain of low hills, which extend in a curve from Napolosa to Mount Carmel. At the foot of Mount Tabor the little village of Deborah preserves the

name of the Israelite heroine; and near it are the springs of the river Kishon, on whose banks she overthrew the hosts of the Amorites, and where in like manner, in our times, a handful of Frenchmen from Acre routed the whole army of the Pasha of Damascus. The remains of a massive wall can still be traced all round the level ground at the top of the mountain, which at some period or other seems to have been strongly fortified. In the middle is an open space covered with beautiful turf, where, on the anniversary of the Transfiguration, the Christians of the neighbourhood assemble under tents, and pass two or three days in festivity. Three small grottoes mark the spot where they suppose the miracle to have taken place, and these they ingeniously conjecture to be the three tabernacles which the Apostles proposed to build. The descent of the mountain occupied about an hour; and an easy ride over slopes covered with oaks and olive-trees brought us to a brow, from whence we saw the village of Nazareth before us, situated in a hollow among the hills.

On reaching the convent I was much surprised to find that the Baron was not yet arrived, as the direct road from Jerusalem was much shorter than that by which I had come; and when after waiting two or three days I heard no tidings of him, I began to fear either that he had fallen ill, or that he had met with some adventure like that of Belbeis. Had it not been for the anxiety which these apprehen-

sions occasioned me, I should have been very comfortable in my quarters at Nazareth. The convent is large, well built, and airy; and it was at this time tenanted by a set of very good-natured and obliging inhabitants. The superior, a Genoese, was a very intelligent and agreeable man, and a *bon vivant* upon principle. "*Noi poveri frati,*" said he, "We poor friars are by our vows excluded from almost all those enjoyments in which the rest of mankind seek for happiness; but, blessed be St. Francis! our rules do not wholly interdict good cheer,—that resource at least remains to us." Nor did he neglect it. His cellars were annually supplied with the red wine of Cyprus, and the *vino d'oro* of Mount Lebanon. The vineyards belonging to the establishment furnished an abundance of excellent aqua vitæ, and a private cabinet in his own apartment contained a choice selection of Italian liqueurs. The cookery of the convent was of corresponding merit; and I well recollect the warmth with which, after finishing his repast, the worthy prior was wont to pronounce, "*Questo cuoco è veramente buono.*"

The modern village of Nazareth is clean, cheerful and populous, and there are many pleasant walks and rides in its environs. The most frequented is to a spot called "The Precipice," which is supposed to be the steep place down which his countrymen attempted to cast our Saviour. It commands a view over the whole plain of Jezreel; and I strolled thither almost every evening, in

the hopes of being able to discern my companion journeying from Samaria. On returning from one of these rides I had an opportunity of observing some of the ceremonies of a Galilæan wedding. Two marriages were to be celebrated at the same time; and the bridegrooms with their friends had been dining in a shady field about half a mile from the village. During the afternoon they amused themselves with firing at a mark, and other sports; and as they were returning home in the evening I accidentally fell in with the procession. The two bridegrooms rode side by side, turning their eyes neither to the right nor to the left, and retaining a gravity of countenance which did not admit a muscle of their faces to be moved. They were equipped with the best clothes and arms that they either possessed or could collect among their friends. Their turbans were profusely ornamented with flowers, and each of them carried a large nosegay in one hand, while with the other he held his pipe, which he seemed to puff as it were mechanically, at regular intervals. Their whole appearance, indeed, was that of two automatons placed on horseback. The horses were each led by two men, and moved on at the slowest possible pace. The solemn gravity of the principal actors in this pageant was strongly contrasted with the wild and almost frantic demeanour of their companions, who were all on foot. At every fifty yards these latter stopped and formed a circle round the bridegrooms. One of them held

in his hand a large figure dressed in woman's clothes, which he kept moving up and down, and dancing backwards and forwards, the rest clapping their hands and stamping violently with their feet, till they seemed almost overcome with the exertion. Loud shouts were heard from every side, and guns were fired off at intervals. At about half way to the village the women were seated in a group, and as soon as the procession came up they rose and joined it; some of them running by the side of the bridegrooms, whose horses now quickened their pace; others falling into the rear, and all joining in that peculiar cry which the women of the East are accustomed to use on occasions of rejoicing, and which can be compared to nothing more exactly than to the frequent rapid pronunciation of the words *lillah, lillah, lillah,* in the shrillest tone imaginable. When I first heard it, it seemed wild and extraordinary, and more expressive of sorrow than of joy; but finding it always associated with the latter feeling, this impression gradually wore away, and at length I began to think it agreeable. The procession conducts the bridegroom to his own house; after which he escapes to that of the bride, leaving his companions to continue their revelry, which is generally kept up in the same way,—dancing, shouting, clapping of hands, and firing of guns till midnight. The company is composed indiscriminately of Christians and Mahometans, who live together in the greatest harmony. The Christians of Naza-

reth indeed, except for a short interval during the reign of the tyrant Jezzar, have always enjoyed great freedom, owing in part to the protection which they receive from the Latin friars.

The conventual church of Nazareth is handsome, though inferior to that of St. Giovanni. From the centre of the western entrance a broad flight of steps leads down to a grotto, and on each flank is another flight leading up to the high altar. In the grotto, or rather just at its entrance, is reported to have stood the memorable house of the Madonna, which was miraculously removed to Loretto; and some holes in the rock are pointed out as the places on which the beams rested. Though the house itself has disappeared, yet the exact spot in which the Incarnation took place is still preserved with religious accuracy. Two broken pillars indicate the place where stood the announcing angel; and the seat of the Virgin is occupied by an altar, on which blazes, in letters of gold, the awful inscription—

HIC verbum caro factum est.

Several places of minor importance are also exhibited, such as the kitchen of the Virgin and the workshop of Joseph. They are all excavated in the rock; and the observation which Maundrell made can hardly fail to occur to every visitor, "that almost all passages and histories related in the Gospel are represented by them that undertake to show where every thing was done, as having been done in grottos, and that even in such cases where

the condition and circumstances of the actions themselves seem to require places of another nature." But although the Christian traditions in the neighbourhood of Nazareth may not be more authentic, they appeared to me to present themselves in a less questionable shape than those at Jerusalem. Even credulity must revolt when a modern house is pointed out as the abode of a Roman governor, or a Turkish mosque as the chamber of the Last Supper; whereas the mount of the Transfiguration, or the "hill of the Beatitudes," may have been the real scene of the events recorded in holy writ. The buildings, the streets, nay perhaps the very site of Jerusalem, are changed;—the mountains of Galilee remain as they were eighteen hundred years ago:

"Presentiorem et conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes fera per juga."

CHAPTER X.

JERASH.

As soon as I arrived at Nazareth I discharged my Bedouin attendant, and had given up all thoughts of going to Jerash, when in conversation with one of the friars I happened to learn that there was a man residing in the village who had once accompanied some travellers thither, and who would probably have no objection to undertake the journey again. He was a Christian named Giorgio, or as the Arabs call it Girgis, to which, as he was able to read and write, the appellation of Malim* was prefixed.

Like many other Christians of Galilee, he had fled from the persecution of the sanguinary Jezzar to the mountains beyond the Jordan, where he had passed several years, and had become known to almost all the inhabitants. On the death of that tyrant he returned to his native village, but he was still in the habit of making occasional visits to his former retreat in the character of an itinerant merchant; and being a man of abilities and information much superior to their own, and moreover an excellent story-teller, he was always a welcome visitor

* Malim, or Mo'allim, (the wise, or the learned,) is a term in Arabic applied to secretaries, scribes, interpreters, &c.

among the half-savage tribes of the mountain. After some conversation with him, and some inquiries as to his character and the probability of his being able to fulfil his engagement, I agreed with him for the sum of 500 piastres, or about fifteen pounds, to conduct me to Jerash.

On the 13th of October the Baron arrived at Nazareth. Having been told at Jerusalem that the direct road was dangerous, he had gone back to Jaffa, and come by sea to Acre; and this circuitous route caused the delay which had occasioned me so much uneasiness. On the following day I set out, attended by the Malim and my interpreter Giorgio, without any other baggage than we could carry about our persons or on our horses. We crossed the plain of Jezreel, passed between Mount Tabor and Mount Hermon; and following the course of a small stream, descended into a glen, which afforded some pretty sequestered scenery. On one side of it we observed a Bedouin encampment, which we studiously avoided; and though not without apprehension of being visited by some of its occupants, we reached the plain of Jordan in safety, and in six hours from Nazareth crossed the river at a point between the lake of Tiberias and Bisan. The stream at this spot was wide, deep, and rapid, with the peculiar milky hue which I had observed in it lower down. After crossing it we directed our course towards Arbaeen, a conspicuous village situated on an eminence in the plain, where our guide

proposed to halt for the night; but on arriving there we found that all the inhabitants had left their houses to assist in collecting the olive harvest, and we were therefore obliged to scale the mountains that evening. The scenery as we ascended was wilder than on the other side of the river; and the path became gradually steeper and more rugged, till it reached a defile between two precipitous rocks, so narrow as to be capable of being closed with a single large stone. At this point our guide told us that Jezzar had been several times repulsed when attempting to penetrate into the mountains. The stone however was now rolled away; we passed the defile, and arrived at a small plain scattered with olive-trees, in the midst of which was a little village called Deir Abou-Saadi, where we resolved to halt for the night. The inhabitants of this village were all Mahometans; few of them had ever before seen a stranger, and they gathered round us with looks of the most vacant curiosity. They did not however appear to be inhospitable, but conducted us to their Manzoul, a low mud-built hut with a terrace on the top, to which we ascended by a ladder. All the principal people of the village came up to bid us welcome; but scarcely had we lighted our pipes and began a conversation, when the roof of the building gave way, and the whole party (except myself and one or two more, who were seated near the edge and consequently supported by the outside wall,) fell headlong into the apartment below. The height

not being very great, the injury was in most cases confined to a few bruises; but one man was taken up senseless, and carried to his own cottage. The villagers ran together on all sides, the women set up a dreadful cry; and I was rather alarmed lest they should suppose us to be magicians, and impute to our presence the misfortune which had befallen them. I went immediately to the house of the wounded man, and found him stretched on a mattress, and apparently lifeless; but I could not tell whether he had sustained any serious injury, or whether he was only stunned by the fall. In either case I thought bleeding would be advisable; and a blunt razor being produced, Giorgio undertook the office of surgeon: but when he approached to commence the operation, the people with one voice objected, and he was obliged to have recourse to a different mode of treatment, by stuffing into the patient's nostrils a piece of cotton dipped in aqua vitæ. It was a long time before this remedy produced any effect; but the application being several times repeated, the man, to my great delight, gave symptoms of animation by a violent fit of sneezing, and in half an hour's time was so far recovered as to be able to walk out of his house. This awkward adventure being thus happily terminated, we ate our supper, and reposed for the night on a large flat stone in front of one of the cottages.

The next morning we set out at day-break, and proceeded along the brow of the mountain, from

whence, after passing several villages, and inquiring in vain for the Shekh Yacoob, a friend of the Malim, upon whose assistance he in some measure depended for our future progress, we descended into a deep sequestered valley, and halted in a large grove of venerable olive-trees, where the inhabitants of a neighbouring village were all assembled, and employed in gathering olives. The men and women were beating the trees with long poles as we do walnut-trees, and the children were collecting the fruit in baskets. From this spot we proceeded again in a southerly direction, crossing several hollows and rivulets, till we reached a village called Choubi. We were several times interrupted by the country-people who met us;—some challenged us as going in search of treasure, the motive which they always ascribe to travellers who have no ostensible object;—others taxed us with being Bedouin robbers from the plain;—and one old man, more sagacious than the rest, found out our real character, and made an observation which expressed the sentiments, I believe, of the greater part of the Arab population: "You Franks," said he, "come one by one to see our country: why do you not all come in a body and rescue us from the tyranny of the Osmanli?"

At Choubi we procured a guide, who led us by an obscure path through a forest of beautiful Valaniah oak till we arrived at a brow which overlooked a considerable stream, and commanded a view along

its banks to the plains of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Across the stream on the opposite hill stood the village of Kefrangi, embosomed in trees; and at a little distance on a sunny knoll was a small Bedouin encampment. The scenery was finer than any thing I had seen in Syria, and reminded me very much of some of the beautiful glens in the Appenines. The setting sun shone full up the valley, and displayed to great advantage the rich and varied foliage of the woods, which were just beginning to be tinged with the yellow hues of autumn. We descended by a rapid path to the banks of the river; and as we approached the village, we were struck by an appearance of neatness, wealth, and comfort, which we had not for a long time had the opportunity of observing. Both sides of the river were lined with orchards of pomegranates newly planted, and gardens stored with a variety of vegetables and herbs, and kept in excellent order. We entered the village through a grove of majestic Oriental plane-trees. The houses were almost all new and well built; we halted at that of the *Scrivano*, or secretary to the Shekh, who welcomed his old friend Malim Girgis with great cordiality. He was himself a Christian who had fled from the ferocity of Jezzar, and had afterwards chosen to remain in this situation, where he held an office of importance. Soon after the first ceremonies of pipes and coffee were passed, we received

a visit from the shekh himself, who came attended by a Bedouin chief and some other friends. His name was Yussuff Barakat; he was a very good-looking man, from thirty to forty years of age, with much freedom and politeness of manner. Like most of the other shekhs of these mountains, his dependence on the Turkish government is very slight. He pays a certain tribute, and governs his subjects in his own way,—a circumstance which probably accounts for the cheerful and comfortable appearance of his village and domains, so different from any thing that is to be seen in those provinces which are more immediately under the superintendence of the Osmanli. The people have a great antipathy to the introduction of any Turkish soldiers or officers; and the Pacha of Damascus, to whom they are tributary, having some time before forced the shekh to admit a garrison, an insurrection took place: several of the soldiers lost their lives, and the rest escaped with difficulty. This of course excited a feud with the Turks, and Shekh Yussuff told us that he was going on the following day to a village on the frontiers of his territory, to meet one of the Pasha's officers for the purpose of negotiation.

In order to give a greater *éclat* to his appearance, and a higher idea of his power and consequence, he was to be attended on his journey by a large number of his vassals, and also by a detachment from a Bedouin tribe, with whom he was in alliance. As the

village to which he was going lay in the road to Jerash, he invited me to accompany him so far, and promised that on parting he would provide me with a proper escort, and a letter to the shekh of the district in which the ruins are situated. On taking his leave, he desired his secretary to see that we were well lodged, and provided with whatever we might wish. The *scrivano* was not slow in obeying his orders, and a plentiful bowl of excellent pillaff with a dish of Leban* was soon brought in for supper. After a few glasses of aqua vitæ had been circulated, our host became very eloquent, and enlarged on many topics of domestic and foreign politics. He told us that the people of these mountains were anxious to be placed on the same footing with the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and to be freed entirely from the presence of Turkish soldiers and custom-house officers; but that the wish nearest their hearts was to be under the protection of England. Had I been a Frenchman, the complaisant scribe would probably have said "under the protection of France." Curiosity or politeness brought several of the neighbours to visit us in the course of the evening; and it was near midnight before I could extricate myself from their society, and retire to my sleeping-room—a kiosk in the garden.

* Leban (or Yaourti, as it is called in Turkish), is milk curdled into a sort of jelly, which is poured over the pillaff. It has a slightly acid taste, at first very disagreeable, but after a little use I became extremely fond of it.

October 16th.—We were on horseback at daybreak, and joined the shekh's party at a little distance from the village. Our road lay along the edge of a narrow valley, through which, on our left, flowed the river: the declivity on one side was varied with cultivated ground interspersed with thickets; on the other side the banks were steeper, and covered with hanging oak woods. I remained with my party in the rear, and observed at leisure the cavalcade moving through this romantic valley, sometimes lost to view in a thicket, at others disclosing the long line of its march over open ground. The shekh led the way mounted on a "milk-white steed." He was dressed in a black mashlakh, with a broad silver epaulette, and wore on his head a cashmere shawl of very gay colours. He was surrounded by fifty or sixty attendants on foot, fine strong-looking men dressed in white with coloured turbans, and armed with muskets, pistols, and daggers. A detachment of Bedouins followed, all well mounted, their lances resting on their stirrups, and their bright yellow keifféhs glittering in the morning sun. As we proceeded, the party was increased by great numbers of armed peasants, who joined it from the neighbouring villages, and by some straggling Bedouins, who came galloping by, to overtake their comrades. The scene was picturesque and romantic,—one might have imagined that the days of the Crusaders were returned, and that a paynim army was marching to attack the castle of Rabboth, whose hoary walls

frowned over the woods on the opposite bank of the river.

We passed through Adgloun, a village which gives its name to the whole of the district, and proceeded to another village at a little distance from it called Ain-jenneh, near to which the Turkish forces were encamped. Here we left the shekh, and halted under some lofty walnut-trees a little further on. In about an hour we saw him pass by to pay his visit to the Turkish officer. His attendants had now formed themselves into a more regular line of march: they were in all about two hundred men on foot and fifty horsemen, and made rather a formidable appearance. I learnt afterwards that the meeting between the two chiefs terminated amicably, and that Shekh Yussuff returned to his village invested with the pelisse, and confirmed in his government.

As soon as the bustle of the procession was over, we proceeded on our journey. Our party now consisted of myself, the interpreter Giorgio, the Malim Girgis, a young man named Daoud, son of the *scrivano* at Kefrangi, two stout peasants armed with muskets, and a Bedouin mounted on a beautiful white mare, who had come with the shekh thus far, and had been prevailed upon to proceed with us. A little above Ain-jenneh we re-crossed the river which we had crossed at Adgloun, and entered a forest of oak-trees, of very large growth and venerable appearance. They seemed to be

almost contemporary with the Roman road, the traces of which, marked by occasional fragments of pavement, we frequently observed in our progress. After about two hours' ride we reached the top of a hill and quitted the forest, when a view opened upon us over a country totally differing in appearance from the close narrow valleys through which we had passed. A long succession of downs thinly scattered with olive-trees sloped eastward to the plains of the Hauran, which again were bounded by the desert faintly distinguished in the remote distance. As we descended the hill on the eastern side, the traces of the Roman road were more frequently visible; and at the village of Souf, where we halted, I observed a milestone still standing.

Souf is situated on the side of a steep hill, and near the source of a stream which runs southward to join the river Zerka, supposed to be the Jabbok of Holy Writ. The ground on which it is built is so shelving that the entrance of the upper houses is on a level with the roofs of the lower. The houses are very miserable, and the inhabitants seemed poorer and much less civilized than those of the villages we had lately visited. The shekh, to whom we delivered our letter of introduction, was a man of very rough appearance, quite a contrast to his neighbour Yussuff. He received us, however, with a surly civility, and promised to conduct us the next day to Jerash, which he told us was only a few hours distant.

I strolled about the village till sunset, and then returned to the Mansoul, or public room, which was attached to the shekh's house. It was a low hut, the walls built with mud, and the roof made of poles and brushwood, plastered over with the same material. As it had no windows the light was admitted through the door only, and in the middle was dug a shallow round hole which served for fire-place. The arrival of a stranger in these countries is the signal of good cheer. A kid was killed for the occasion, and served up cut into fragments and buried in an enormous pile of boiled rice. The party assembled was so large that it was impossible that all could at the same time "dip their hands into the dish:" precedence was therefore given to the strangers, and to the shekh and elders of the people, who squatted first round the bowl: but as soon as any one had finished (and they all eat with the greatest possible expedition), he rose and made way for some hungry expectant. I counted forty persons, who in their turn partook of the meal; and there still remained a portion, which was sent out for the servants and persons of inferior condition.

As soon as supper was finished the guests formed a circle round the fire-place. A large green tree was brought in and laid with all its branches, "udos cum foliis ramos," on the hot embers; and the cloud of smoke which filled the chamber, and which had no outlet but at the door, may easily be conceived.

Among the visitors who came in after supper I observed a miserable squalid figure, who seemed to keep at a distance, as if not liking to mingle with the rest of the throng. He did not offer to sit down, but stood in the back row, and in a dark corner of the room, holding by the hand a little boy who looked as wretched as himself. On inquiring who he was, the Malim whispered to me that he was the only Christian inhabitant of Souf, which accounted for his poor appearance and humble demeanour. He seemed to derive some little confidence from our presence, and edging round by degrees to the place where we were sitting, he at last ventured to crouch down near us, and as he thought, unobserved. His boy, however, was not allowed to remain long quiet. The son of the shekh, a young ruffian of about his own age, soon picked a quarrel, and drove him insultingly out of the apartment; and his father took the hint, and presently followed him. I felt much compassion for this poor defenceless victim of religious bigotry; but the only way in which I could testify my feeling was by sending him a small sum of money on the following day.

This evening I had the first opportunity of witnessing and lamenting the skill of the Malim Girgis as a story-teller. Coffee having been handed round, pipes all lighted, and the flaming tree pushed a little further into the fire, he began. I desired the interpreter, who sat by me, to explain the story to me as it went on; and for a little while he did

so: but as the Malim advanced and became warmed with the subject, his speech grew so rapid, that Giorgio was obliged to give up his task in despair; and I was forced to amuse myself with observing the changing and various expression in the faces of half a hundred savage rustics of all ages, who were listening with attention so profound, that it seemed almost like the reverence paid to a superior being. The most perfect silence was preserved, except occasionally when the plot of the story was at the point of its greatest interest, or when some extraordinary catastrophe had been announced; and then, as if by common consent, each man took his pipe from his mouth, and in a low voice growled out *Mashallah*—the common expression throughout the East of surprise mixed with admiration. The women, muffled up in their blue veils, came occasionally to the door to listen, and some of them even ventured, though tremblingly, a few steps into the apartment. For more than four hours did the indefatigable Malim continue; and so well did he succeed in riveting the attention of his audience, that when midnight arrived, not more than five or six persons were gone away. My patience, however, was completely exhausted: I had been sitting all the time listening to a language I could not understand; my eyes streaming from the effects of the greenwood smoke, and without any resource but my pipe, which I had filled and finished twenty times. I thought, therefore, that I had taxed my

politeness enough, and desired the Malim to desist at the conclusion of the next story, which came at the end of about another half hour. The party then immediately broke up; the shekh retired to his harem; the villagers to their own homes; while we and five or six more visitors wrapped ourselves up in our cloaks, and lay down on some clean mats on the floor of the Mansoul. I was the first to set the example; and each man as he went out offered to throw his mashlakh over me,—a mark of respect which they always pay to the principal visitor, but which for obvious reasons I begged to decline.

October 17th.—It had been settled on the previous evening by the Malim that the shekh should accompany us to Jerash with an escort of eight men; but in the morning we found that sixteen were waiting to attend us. According to the common notions of the country, which I have before mentioned, the villagers were persuaded that we were going in search of treasure; and as all were anxious to share the benefit of our discoveries, our escort was thus unnecessarily augmented. A more ferocious-looking set of fellows I never saw collected together. Some were on horseback, and others on foot; all were dressed in the coarsest attire, and armed with guns and pistols of the rudest workmanship. With the shekh and my own attendants, the party consisted of twenty-two persons. We proceeded slowly over an open down, leaving

the course of the stream at some distance on our left; and after about two hours ride we came to a brow, from which we discovered the whole of the ancient city. We approached it through a cemetery strewed with broken stone sarcophagi, and inclosed by a trench at the north-western side of the wall. We soon arrived at the ruins of a Corinthian temple which faces the east. Part of the tympanum and nine majestic columns of the portico of this magnificent structure, together with two of the peristyle, are still standing, and the walls of the cella and the steps at the entrance are tolerably entire. The temple was surrounded by a peribolus composed of a double row of columns, all of which are thrown down; but the area may be traced by their bases which remain. A little further to the south is a smaller temple, not so well preserved, only three Corinthian columns being left standing, and further on we came to a large theatre, one of the most perfect remains of antiquity that I have ever seen. The stone seats are almost entire, and the wall at the back of the proscenium is still standing, together with several columns which formed its interior decoration. The theatre, as usual, is placed on the slope of the hill, and close beside it stood a large temple, also of the Corinthian order. Three sides of the cella alone remain, all the columns both of the portico and of the peristyle having fallen. A broad flight of steps, now quite dilapidated, led up to this temple; and from the site of the portico

there is a fine view over the whole extent of the ruins. The city was built on two opposite sides of a valley divided from each other by a rivulet, parallel with which a street of columns extended nearly its whole length, a distance I should suppose of almost a mile. At the south end this street appears to have terminated in a circular colonnade, of which fifty-seven columns are still standing. There were originally nearly a hundred, all of the Ionic order, about twenty feet high, and placed in a single row round the inclosure, which was probably the Forum. About three hundred yards from this was the south gate of the town, which is now fallen down and blocked up with ruins; and at about the same distance without the gate there is a triumphal arch very little injured. The approach to the city in this direction, from the plains of the Hauran, must have been extremely imposing. On the western side of the road leading from the gate to the arch, the remains of a stadium are clearly discoverable. The seats, though overgrown with grass, remain nearly entire; and as an aqueduct can be traced from the springs on the other side the valley, we may suppose that it was sometimes used for the exhibition of a naumachia.

Returning back we crossed the circular colonnade, and proceeded along the principal street which intersected the town. This is not more than wide enough for one carriage to pass along; but the pavement in many places is quite perfect, and the

marks of the wheels remain. On each side was a row of columns of different heights, and of different workmanship, the Corinthian order predominating. A great many of them are still standing; but in some places they have fallen down, and nearly blocked up the street with their fragments. At about one-third of the distance, from the circular colonnade to the northern gate, this street is intersected at right angles by another, which is also flanked with columns, but of less dimensions. At the intersection are four large pedestals, and the cross street leads down on the right by a flight of steps to a bridge across the river, great part of which remains, though the crown of the arch has given way, and made it impassable. Still continuing along the main street, we passed several porticoes and niches, remarkable for the beauty and good preservation of their ornaments and mouldings. Just below the great temple first mentioned, which stands on much higher ground than the street, are the remains of a propylæum or gateway, which conducted to it; and opposite to this was a short street terminated by a small Corinthian temple and by a flight of steps leading down to another bridge, which is still standing, but more ruinous than the former. To the northward of this, but few columns remain standing in the main street till we arrive at another quadrivium or intersection of a cross street, where there is a portico resembling that of Janus Quadrifons at Rome, having a vaulted

roof supported by four arches, through which the streets passed. It is square on the outside and circular within, and great part of the roof still remains. Here turning to the right through the cross street, which was also lined with columns, most of them now fallen, we came to a very large building composed of massive arches, which was probably a bath. Crossing the bed of the stream, which was now dry, we soon arrived at a pool of water overhung with fine shady plane-trees, and surrounded by various plants and shrubs. It is supplied from two springs, at both of which are considerable remains of ancient buildings and some blocks of marble. The water is delightfully soft and sweet, and the sources were probably in ancient times very abundant; but they are now so encumbered by fragments of masonry, and choked up with vegetation, that after supplying the pool they send but a small contribution to the river. At a little distance to the southward of the fountain is another large bath, the walls of which remain almost entire.

Returning from the spring, and crossing the main street in the opposite direction, we came to another theatre, not so large or so well preserved as the former one, the stage and lower seats being choked up with rubbish. To the back of the proscenium a portico is attached, of which five Corinthian columns are still standing. From the vaulted portico the main street extended to the northern gate of the city, flanked by columns of the Ionic order, a

great number of which are still standing; and at some distance from it, to the eastward, are large remains of a Corinthian temple, the cella of which appears to have been converted to the purpose of a Christian church. The slope of the eastern hill is covered with the ruins of private houses; but I did not observe the remains of any considerable public edifice.

While we were surveying the ruins, the shekh had purchased a kid of some goat-herds whom we met with at the fountain, and on our return to the portico we found the people preparing it for their dinner. They had constructed with some bricks a rude oven with two divisions, one above the other. In the lower one the fuel was placed, and in the upper the animal entire, the skin only having been removed. The bricks were then luted together with clay, the fire lighted, and the process of cooking left to itself. In about an hour it was considered to be finished, and the shekh and his men sat down to devour the half raw and half scorched meat. They invited me to partake of it; but though ceremony did not allow me to refuse, it was so tough that I could swallow but a very small portion. My companions, however, were less fastidious: the kid very soon disappeared; and after their meal was over, they lay down to sleep in the shade.

During the whole of the morning I had never been left alone. Three or four of the escort fol-

lowed me everywhere, crying continually, "*Ziboobeh, ziboobeh!*" "The treasure, the treasure!" and never allowing me to be a moment out of their sight, lest I should appropriate any thing unobserved by them. This perpetual *surveillance* I found very irksome; and I now took the opportunity of stealing out, as I hoped unnoticed, to make another tour of the ruins by myself, and at leisure. But in this I was disappointed: I had scarcely reached the fountain, when my persecutors overtook me; and the shekh soon afterwards coming up, told us, that as the evening was drawing on, it was time to return to the village.

I was thus hurried away from this delightful spot; but, notwithstanding the short time I had been able to devote to it, and the perpetual intrusion of my companions, which scarcely gave me an opportunity of making the few short notes from which the foregoing account is taken*; it has left a lasting impression on my memory. Except perhaps at Rome or at Athens, I know not a more striking assemblage of architectural remains, than that which presents itself to view from the portico of the southern temple. Palmyra is the place to which Jerash may be most aptly compared. The style of the archi-

* Further details may be found in the simple narrative of Shekh Ibrahim, and in the flowery pages of Mr. Buckingham: but I could name two gentlemen who have the materials and the ability to give a much more perfect account of the place than any that has yet appeared.

tecture shows them to have been nearly contemporary; but, though the ruins of that celebrated city are much more extensive, those of Jerash are more varied; and, instead of being surrounded by a barren wilderness, they have the advantage of a picturesque situation in the midst of a beautiful and smiling country, abounding in water, wood, and herbage.

It seems extraordinary that a city, whose splendid buildings proclaim it to have been of great wealth and importance, should have been so little noticed in history as the ancient Gerasa has been; and it has been conjectured, that these may probably be the ruins of Pella, which is known to have been a place of consequence, and moreover to have been particularly distinguished by an abundant supply of water*. Several historical facts have been brought forward in confirmation of this opinion; but the similarity of the modern name of Jerash with the ancient Gerasa, is at least a strong, if not a conclusive argument against it.

In returning to Souf we followed a most delightful route through the valley, between hills covered with fine turf, and varied with groves of stately Valaniah oak, till we reached a steep pathway, which led us up to the village, where we arrived a little before sunset. The company assembled was not so numerous as on the preceding evening; and the

* Pellam aquis divitem.—Pliny, v. 16.

hospitality of the shekh seemed to be on the decline, as the supper consisted of oiled rice only,—a dish to which I had an invincible repugnance. But Giorgio fortunately had shot a partridge out of a large covey that we sprung in the valley; and having made friends with some of the women of the shekh's harem, had prevailed on them to roast it privately. I ate it with similar precaution, for fear of giving offence; and having thus satisfied my hunger, I sat down with the other guests. Their own eagerness withdrew their attention from me, and I could easily pretend to eat the rank pillaff with as good an appetite as themselves. A number of persons coming in after supper, the party was even more numerous than the night before, and the conversation much more animated. All the men who had composed our escort were present; and, though disappointed of the expected treasure, their spirits were so much elated with the *bacsheesh* they had received, that they talked incessantly. Some of them offered to conduct me the next day to Amán, (the Ammon of the Scriptures, and the Philadelphia of the Romans,) where there are also extensive remains of antiquity: others broke out into violent invectives against the Turks, or Osmanli as they called them; for whom, like all the inhabitants of these mountains, and indeed of Syria generally, they entertain the greatest abhorrence: and our Bedouin attendant, who had hitherto appeared to be a man of invincible taciturnity, launched out

into extravagant praises of his mare, and offered to match her against any other that might be produced. In the midst of this conversation several persons entered hastily into the room, and one of them addressed the shekh with great vehemence. I found that the subject of his harangue was a dispute between himself and a neighbour as to the possession of some olive-trees, which, however they may be emblematical of peace, are in all southern countries a most fruitful source of litigation. As soon as he had finished, his opponent began his reply; and afterwards several witnesses were called in to depose to the rights of each party. Among them were two or three very old women, whose shrivelled skin and haggard appearance excited much mirth in the assembly. The shekh however preserved his gravity, and seemed disposed to hear both sides with patience and attention: but as every person present considered himself a member of the tribunal and entitled to give his opinion, a scene of great confusion ensued: the parties, the witnesses, and the court all talking, or rather vociferating at once. Words soon ran high, and I began to apprehend that the evening would not pass very amicably, when Malim Girgis, who foresaw also an impending storm, abruptly said to our host "Shekh Mahomed, *Masalami*," "I salute you," the ordinary form of commencement when addressing a superior. A moment's pause in the debate ensued, and the Malim took advantage of it to begin a story. In an instant

the dispute was hushed; the plaintiff and the defendant, the olive-trees and the old women, seemed alike forgotten, and a profound and almost breathless silence prevailed throughout the rude divan. The triumph of the story-teller was complete; harmony was restored, and he continued, as before, to amuse his audience till midnight.

The next morning, previously to our departure, the Malim himself was involved in a dispute with the shekh as to the sum which was to be paid for our entertainment. The shekh was not satisfied with what our guide offered him, and appealed to me; but I escaped from the controversy by saying, that as I had made an agreement with Malim Girgis to convey me to Jerash and back for a certain sum, I had nothing to do with any settlement he might make on the road. The shekh admitted the truth of my remark; and, as is usual on such occasions, said that "the Englishman was not in fault:" but, though he treated me with great politeness, he was so angry with the guide and the interpreter, that he scarcely condescended to bid either of them farewell.

We retraced our path through the oak forest to Adgloun, where our Bedouin left us to return to his camp at Kefrangi, but not without a furious quarrel as to the pay he was to receive. After many threats, however, he was obliged to take what was offered him, and rode off cursing the Christians. Among the most disagreeable circumstances which

attend travelling in these countries, are the perpetual quarrels as to the payment of guides, muleteers, boatmen, and indeed every description of service. Besides the sum stipulated for in the contract, a present is always expected; and though I was generally disposed to be liberal, I scarcely recollect one of the numerous persons whom I had at different times in my employ, who was satisfied with what I gave him: even Malim Girgis claimed a *bacsheesh* on my return to Nazareth, although he made a clear profit of at least half the sum which I had paid him for the journey.

As I wished to visit the castle of Rabboth, we kept on the right bank of the river, and ascended the hill on which it stands. The view down the valley was extremely rich and beautiful. Gardens, orchards, olive-trees and oaks, clothed the opposite banks of the stream with varied foliage, and the smoke rose in curling wreaths from the village of Kefrangi. The castle is about two miles from Adgloun: it is a lofty square building with towers at the angles. An Arabic inscription found by Shekh Ibrahim refers its construction to Sultan Saladin, and it is built in the style which characterizes the Saracenic architecture of the middle ages in Syria; and which, in the solidity and accuracy of the masonry, may almost vie with the works of antiquity. It was once defended by outworks which are now ruinous, but the walls and the roof are nearly entire, and some of the chambers still remain.

Many of the apartments, however, are inaccessible, from the floors and staircases having given way: and the castle, which once perhaps was occupied by the choicest warriors of Islamism, or the flower of European chivalry, had now for its garrison only half a dozen ragged and barefooted peasants. It was used as a state prison by Yussuf Barakat; and in one of the rooms we saw a near relation of the shekh, who had been detected in a conspiracy against him, confined with two of his accomplices. They were heavily chained, and almost naked; but in spite of their forlorn appearance, I could discover in their countenances pride, rage, and revenge, waiting only for an opportunity to call them into exercise; and in these unsettled and turbulent regions that would probably not long be wanting*. From the battlements of the castle we had a very fine view, comprehending almost all the country we had lately passed over, and extending from the Hauran on one side, to the mountains of Palestine on the other.

From Rabboth we rode for several hours through a thick and almost pathless forest of oak-trees; on leaving which we found ourselves near the brow of the mountains, overlooking the plains of Jordan. As it was near sunset, we halted at the first village

* I have lately heard (1828), that Shekh Yussuf has since been deposed and assassinated, and this very prisoner put in his place.

we came to: but most of the inhabitants having shut up their houses, and gone into the neighbouring glens and valleys to collect the olives, we had some difficulty in procuring a lodging; and when we had succeeded in this point, we were still at a loss to find provision, of which we stood much in need. After some inquiries, however, my interpreter discovered that a wild boar had lately been killed in the forest, and that a part of it was to be found at the house of a Christian in the village. But as we were stationed in the house of a Mahometan, it was necessary to use some caution in procuring it; and after Giorgio had brought a portion concealed under his mashlakh, I retired into the stable to eat it, lest the sight of the forbidden food should shock the prejudices of my host.

We set out the next morning before day-break with a party of itinerant merchants who were going to Szalt, and whose route was for part of the way the same with our own. But their cavalcade being encumbered with a train of asses loaded with panniers, they proceeded so slowly that we soon left them behind. A steep and stony track led us down a gorge in the mountains, at the foot of which we halted at a beautiful fountain under some precipitous rocks. The Malim did not suffer us to remain there long, as he was very impatient to cross the plain, which was thickly studded with the encampments of the Ben-i-Sakr. We made a

circuitous route to the river, in order to avoid these formidable Arabs, crossed it below Bisan, and skirted the mountains to the south of that town. About the middle of the day Giorgio complained of being extremely ill; but the dread of being intercepted by the Bedouins distracted his attention from his own feelings, and urged him on. As soon as he thought that we were sufficiently remote from them to be out of danger, his energies seemed completely exhausted; he dismounted, threw himself on the ground, and declared his utter inability to proceed any further. I found his pulse extremely high; he complained of violent sickness, and was so weak that he was utterly unable to stand without support. Nothing however could be done for him: the day was fast declining; Nazareth was still at a great distance, and there was not even a hut of any kind where we could halt before we arrived there. After a short consultation, therefore, we replaced him on his horse, propped him up as well as we could with the baggage, and fastened him on with straps to prevent his falling; and in this way we proceeded on our journey.

Before we arrived at the foot of Mount Tabor the night had closed in upon us. A weary ride in the dark over steep hills and stony roads still remained; and it was nearly ten o'clock when we reached the convent at Nazareth, having been on horseback for seventeen hours, without any other intermission

than two short halts of half an hour each, and with scarcely any refreshment. Poor Giorgio was consigned to the care of two lay-brothers, who lifted him from his horse and carried him to bed, half dead with sickness and fatigue.

CHAPTER XI.

ACRE.—DEHR EL KAMR.—TRIPOLI.

After a day's repose at Nazareth, on the 21st of October I went to St. John d'Acre, a pleasant ride of about seven hours; the former part of the way through gentle hills covered with olive-trees, and the latter across the plain in which that town is situated. I was lodged at the Terra Santa convent, and remained there three days, being detained by the continued illness of my dragoman. The town affords little to gratify curiosity. The traces of the siege are almost obliterated; the old defences having been pulled down, and their place supplied by a new solid wall flanked with towers and protected by a wide ditch. This with a mosque and bath were the works of Jezzar Pasha, and are the only favourable memorials which that sanguinary tyrant has left behind him. The remembrance of his severity is perpetuated by the number of his victims still to be seen in the streets of Acre and in the adjacent villages; some with only one ear, others with but a single eye, and many with the tips of their noses snipped off. His favourite minister, the Jew Malim Haym, had suffered all these three species of mutilation; but his services were still essential to the Pasha's interests; and during the

latter part of his life, and the whole of the government of his successor Suleyman Pasha, (who was just now dead,) the Malim had the sole direction of affairs. He was left to pursue whatever measures he thought best; and I believe that under his management the Pashalik of Acre was one of the best governed in the Turkish empire. Some of his relations exercised nearly equal authority in the Pashalik of Damascus: and taking into consideration also the great influence possessed by the family of Picciotto at Aleppo, it might be said that at this period almost the whole of Syria and Palestine was governed by Jews.

In the Pashalik of Acre there was now an interregnum, and it was doubtful who would be the successor of Suleyman: but among the several candidates, it was thought that his adopted son Abdallah Pasha would be the most successful. He was in effect soon afterwards confirmed in the Pashalik, and commenced his career in the true spirit of a Turk, by putting to death poor Malim Haym, to whose prudent management he chiefly owed his elevation.

On the death of a Pasha, or indeed of any other person holding office under the Turkish government, all the property he leaves becomes forfeited to the Sultan; and while I remained on this coast, caravans loaded with Suleyman's treasures were continually passing to Constantinople, and bills on that capital were easily negociable. It was to this

circumstance, perhaps, that I was partly indebted for the facility with which I procured a seasonable supply of money from our consul Signor Pasquale Malagamba, although I had no direct letters of credit to him. He had not, I believe, in general the character of liberality; and I am on that account the more happy in bearing testimony to the great readiness with which he provided me with the "sinews of travelling" on this, as on several subsequent occasions.

Acre is one of the most considerable ports on the coast of Syria, and the principal emporium for the commerce of Damascus, caravans regularly passing between the two places. Before the revolution a considerable French factory was established there; but the merchants were expelled by Jezzar, with circumstances of such injustice and cruelty, as would fully have warranted the chastisement which the armies of that nation afterwards attempted to inflict upon him. At present there is a French, an English, an Austrian, and a Russian consul, but few if any merchants of those countries are to be found in the place.

The town is situated at the northern extremity of a bay, the coast of which is for the most part flat, sandy, and exposed to westerly winds; but there is a small mole, where a few ships may lie in safety. The southern side of the bay is terminated by Mount Carmel, which I did not visit, as the weather was extremely hot, my dragoman con-

fined to his bed, and the ardour of my curiosity somewhat abated by the fatigue which I had gone through in my late excursion.

During my residences in the convents of the Terra Santa, I expected often to have observed that spirit of proselytism which is said to be so strong among the Catholic clergy, and which (how consistently I will not pretend to decide,) has sometimes been imputed to them as a crime. But though I have occasionally remained for weeks together in a convent, and been on the most familiar terms with its inhabitants, it was only once that any attack was made on my faith. This happened at Acre: My watch being out of order, I inquired if there was any one in the place who could repair it; and I was referred to a lay-brother, who had been originally a watch-maker, and who still occasionally practised, either for his amusement or for some trifling gain. Not having learned, however, the salutary lesson which the emperor Charles the Fifth drew from the exercise of that ingenious art*, he availed himself of the opportunity which this introduction afforded, of attempting my conversion, laboured to impress on my mind the spiritual danger of my situation, and entreated me to return, before it was too late, to the bosom of the true church. His humble calling and very limited education had not allowed him the opportunity of storing his mind with any new or pro-

* See Robertson's Charles V. B. xii.

found arguments; he wisely, therefore, confined himself to the old and plausible one, drawn from the variations of the protestant faith; and concluded almost every period of his discourse with the well known adage, "*Una via dritta, molte vie storte,*" "There is one straight road, but many crooked ones." As he brought forward his opinions in a mild and inoffensive, though earnest manner, I listened to the worthy Fra Vincenzo with patience, and felt obliged to him for the interest which he took in my welfare; but truth obliges me to confess that he did not succeed in correcting the errors either of my watch or of my creed.

At the end of three days, Giorgio not being yet recovered, I determined that he should remain behind, and when well enough come to rejoin me at Beyrout; and I left Acre on the 28th of October. The plain which skirts the town is thickly set with villages; a range of hills sweeps round it on the north and east sides, and above them the mountains of the higher Lebanon here and there show their rugged summits. At the end of about two hours ride we reached its northern extremity, where the hills terminate in the promontory of Capo Bianco. A steep and rugged path called the Tyrian Ladder, led us up to a ruinous tower overlooking the sea, whose waves beat against the white cliffs from which the promontory derives its name. In our way we met with numerous groups of peasants of both sexes with asses and panniers, who were

going to collect the cotton harvest in the plain of Acre. We now passed along a rough and rocky shore, worn by the sea into innumerable inlets and cavities, which latter are used for the evaporation of salt. On the declivities on our right we saw frequent traces of buildings, pottery, heaps of hewn stones, and fragments of columns, attesting the former populousness of this coast; and at length from an eminence we caught the view of a small town, situated at the extremity of a low neck of land. This was Tyre, or Sour as it is now called, and I halted for a few minutes to contemplate the reduced and mean appearance of the ancient metropolis of the commercial world. On quitting the hills, we moved slowly and difficultly over a deep sandy plain, till we reached the isthmus which connects the town with the mainland. This is supposed to be the mole erected by Alexander, which in the lapse of ages has become a bank of sand; but it is still covered with remains of ancient constructions, masses of brickwork, columns of granite, and fragments of friezes and cornices. It is about half a mile in length, and is separated from the town by a strong wall and a ditch, which we crossed by a drawbridge.

Sour, which a few years ago was no more than a miserable fishing-village, has of late risen to some importance. It now carries on a considerable trade in tobacco with Damietta; and I observed a number of good houses and magazines which appeared

to have been lately built. The inhabitants are Jews, Catholics, Schismatics, and Mahometans. Of the latter, the greater part are Motoualis, a tribe which has been from a very early period established in the neighbouring districts, and which, although surrounded on all sides by orthodox Mussulmen, still preserves its fidelity inviolate to the sect of Ali. The Motoualis were once a warlike race, and occupied the greater part of the long plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus, anciently called the Vale of Bekaa or Cœlesyria. In the frequent revolts of the inhabitants of Lebanon and of Palestine against the Turkish government, they sometimes sided with one party and sometimes with the other, and were always powerful auxiliaries *, but their numbers have gradually decreased; and after many defeats, they have been compelled to evacuate almost the whole of the plain, and to confine themselves to Sour and some other places on the coast.

I lodged at the house of the Greek Catholic archbishop of Sour, Don Gabrielli, a very fine old man, who had studied in his youth at Rome, and still retained some knowledge of Italian. His diocese extends over five or six neighbouring villages; and he was just returned from a visitation, the fatigues of which had brought on an illness which confined him to his sofa. He received me, however, with great politeness, and I was provided with an excellent supper and comfortable apartment. His

* See Volney's Travels, vol. ii.

sister, an elderly formal-looking damsel, had the care of his household. Knowing the primitive poverty of the Church in these countries, I ventured at parting the next morning to put a golden mahmoudieh* into the hands of the archbishop; and I was pleased to find that he received it with great satisfaction and many expressions of gratitude.

Shortly after leaving Sour, we crossed by a steep bridge the river Kàsmia which flows down from Balbec through the plain of Bekaa or Cœlesyria. The road afterwards runs near the sea; the hills, which are naked and rocky, sloping gently down almost to the shore, till we approach Seida, the ancient Sidon, when they recede and leave a wide plain. At a short distance from that town, in a retired valley on the right, we caught a view of the convent of St. Elias, the principal residence of Lady Hester Stanhope. The road winds round the town through gardens highly cultivated and thickly set with mulberry-trees, acacias, and bananas. The entrance is on the northern side; and after passing through a narrow bazar, we arrived at a handsome and spacious khan, built by the French factory which formerly flourished there. The upper rooms open into an arched corridor, and one side of the quadrangle was occupied by the residence of the French consul and the convent of Terra Santa, in which we procured an apartment. The lower part of the building was divided into

* Twenty-five piastres,—at this time not quite a pound sterling.

warehouses, some of which were now converted into stables for the reception of some Arab horses which had been purchased for the French government. About a dozen of these fine animals were standing picketed under some shady trees in the centre of the khan.

I was anxious to go from Seida to Dehr el Kamr, to pay a visit to the Emir of Mount Lebanon; but as I had no interpreter with me, I was at a loss how to proceed, and was on the point of giving up the scheme for the present, when I received a visit from M. Bertrand a French resident, and Signor Biancone an Italian physician whom I had seen at Nazareth. These gentlemen very kindly removed my difficulties, the former giving me a letter of introduction to his brother who was the Emir's physician, and the latter offering his own dragoman to attend me.

Thus provided, I left Seida on the 27th October at day-break; and after about an hour's ride along a sandy beach came to a river called Nahr el Ouali, where the Emir's territory begins. Our route lay for some distance along its banks, which are very pleasant, the valley being covered with luxuriant gardens, and the sides of the hills with hanging woods. We then turned to the left, and began to ascend the mountain; the general features of which, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the stream, are rugged and barren, and without any beauty of outline. The villages however, which are

thickly scattered, are surrounded by patches of cultivated ground, and present an appearance of comfort and industry which denotes that the people are more free, and the property more secure, than in those districts which are more immediately exposed to the stupid tyranny of the Turks. The roads are most vile, or rather there are none at all; the inhabitants considering it a matter of policy to preserve their country, as much as they can, inaccessible to a foreign force. We frequently had to pass across slanting strata of rock as smooth as a flag pavement, where the horses being unaccustomed to such slippery paths were in continual danger of falling. The one which my servant rode, did at last slide down into a ravine, but happily no damage ensued beyond the scattering of the baggage. We made however but very slow progress, and the sun was fast sinking when we arrived at a brow overlooking a deep and wide valley, intersected by a broad river. On our right we saw on a detached eminence the palace of the Emir, and before us, on the side of the opposite hill, the town of Dehr el Kamr. The river is called Nahr el Damar, and is the Tamyris of ancient geography. We descended by a very steep path to its banks; and after crossing it, a long flight of steps cut in the rock led us up to the town. This is the only mode of making roads practised in Mount Lebanon; and it is difficult to say which is the most formidable, the flat slippery rock in its native state, or the steep and

irregular steps which have been cut in it. The horses and mules of the country, however, ascend and descend with the greatest ease and safety.

On arriving at Dehr el Kamr I went to the Maronite convent, and was introduced into an apartment, from the windows of which there was a fine view of the valley, and of the sloping ground between the town and the river, which is laid out in gardens cultivated with the greatest care and neatness, and irrigated by means of an aqueduct which brings water from a distant mountain. The Superior of the convent, a plain and simple old man, received me with great kindness; and among the friars I found one who had lived twenty years at Rome, and spoke Italian tolerably well. Several of the inhabitants of the place, curious to see the stranger, soon afterwards came in under pretence of paying a visit to the Superior. I supped almost in public; but the politeness which distinguishes the manners of all classes in the East prevents on such occasions the disgust which we should feel at being exposed to the rude stare of vulgar curiosity in other countries. Being a fast day, the friars excused themselves from joining me at supper; but they set before me a variety of excellent dishes, and an abundant supply of the celebrated *vino d'oro* (or golden wine) of Mount Lebanon, which very much resembles what we call Mountain, though when in perfection it is rather stronger, and has a more delicate and less luscious flavour.

The Maronite Church is as ancient in Syria as the sixth century. Driven by persecution from the cities and the plains, it fixed itself among the steeps of Mount Lebanon, where the patriarch still resides, and where the great mass of its votaries is collected, though some of them are to be found in almost every part of Syria. For many centuries the Church was independent of the papal authority; but having renounced the monothelite heresy*, which was its characteristic tenet, a reconciliation was effected with Rome, and the pope is now considered as its head. It still retains, however, some important privileges: among others, the secular clergy are not compelled to celibacy. The regular clergy, of whom there are great numbers, are of the order of St. Basil. Their dress consists of a black gown made of goat's hair, with a hood thrown over the head, and the waist bound round with a broad leathern girdle fastened with a brass buckle. Their convents are scattered over the whole of Mount Lebanon; but they are most numerous in the province called the Kesrouan, where the population is entirely Christian. In many districts, indeed, the friars are the only cultivators of the soil, secular motives not being found strong enough to induce men to inhabit the lonely crags where these industrious and useful devotees have placed their nests.

The next morning we re-crossed the river, and

* John Maron, from whom the Maronites derive their name, was one of the leaders of this heresy.—See Gibbon, cap. 47.

proceeded to Beteddin the residence of the Emir, which stands on the summit of a hill, partially detached from the surrounding mountains. The palace has been lately built; and though small, the beauty of its situation and the taste which has been displayed in its design and arrangement, render it one of the most agreeable residences that I have ever seen. It occupies three sides of a court; the other side being bounded by a terrace facing the west, and commanding a view over the vale of the Nahr el Damar, the plain, and the sea. The aqueducts which the emir has constructed branch off from the river at a spot about three hours ride higher up in the mountain. They supply a very large fountain in the centre of the court, and several smaller ones in different situations, besides various cascades and other ornamental works. The heat at mid-day was excessive; and as we walked along the corridors, the dash of water heard in all directions was delightfully refreshing: the court was filled with groups of attendants very gaily dressed, and horses richly caparisoned.

I delivered my letter of introduction to M. Bertrand, and shortly after I was summoned into the presence of the Emir, whom I found seated under a canopy in a small room very richly furnished, and ornamented with mirrors, French clocks, and china. He was a mild and agreeable-looking man, between fifty and sixty years of age, with a fresh colour and thin grey beard. He received me very graciously,

as he does all English travellers, and repeatedly expressed the great regard he entertained for our nation. The chief topic of conversation was Sir Sidney Smith, to whom the Emir had been under great obligations, and to whom, more than to any other individual perhaps, the English are indebted for the consideration which they enjoy in Syria. At the end of about twenty minutes, another party of visitors being introduced, I took my leave; and M. Bertrand then conducted me through several other rooms splendidly fitted up, and ornamented with various articles of European luxury; in one of them I observed an organ. We afterwards visited the stables and kennels, and saw some very fine horses, pointers, and hawks. Hawking is the favourite sport in these mountains; where, in consequence of the great inequalities of the ground, any other mode of pursuing game is difficult and dangerous. The hawk is trained to hover over the partridges, gradually approaching nearer and nearer, till at last they suffer a net to be thrown over them. After completing our survey of the palace, we retired to a large apartment destined for the reception of occasional guests, where we sat down to a very handsome dinner; and in the evening I returned to the convent at Dehr el Kamr.

The Emir Beshir's government extends from the neighbourhood of Acre on the south, to the mountains beyond Tripoli on the north. It stretches into the interior over the Vale of Bekaa to the range of

Antilibanus, but comprehends a small portion only of the sea coast. A part of this territory he holds under the Pashalik of Acre, and a part under that of Tripoli, on condition of paying a certain annual sum; he receiving the Miri, or land tax, and other imposts from the inhabitants. It has been a favourite object with himself, as well as his predecessors, to hold his authority directly from the Porte; but he has always been prevented from obtaining it by the jealousy of the pashas of Acre, who have been used to make a considerable revenue by fomenting intrigues in the mountain, setting up different candidates for the government, and taking bribes from both parties. The greater part of the Emir's subjects are Christians; and though himself descended from a very ancient Mahometan family, he has embraced their creed. He still however adheres to the outward forms and practices of Mahometanism; thus conciliating the Christians, who are satisfied with knowing the change in his religion, without wishing him to avow it, and saving the Turks from the scandal of allowing an infidel to retain so important a trust. He has the character of being a mild and equitable ruler; but the history of his earlier career will not bear too close a scrutiny. He owes his power to the deposition of his cousin, the Emir Yussuff*; and the two sons of that unfortunate prince, whom he deprived of their eyes, are still living monuments of his cruelty.

*Mentioned by Volney. See his Travels, vol. ii.

Though the Christians form the most numerous class of the Emir's subjects, the Druses are the richest and most powerful; and his neighbour and namesake, the Shekh Beshir, who was of that nation, possessed much larger revenues and more real influence than himself. Of the peculiar tenets of these people, little seems to be known; and Shekh Ibrahim, who was particularly well qualified to pry into such mysteries, acknowledges that the attempt to discover them is almost hopeless. They practise all the outward forms of the Mahometan faith, except circumcision, and I did not observe any thing in their ordinary habits and customs which could distinguish them from other Orientals. The Okkals alone, who form a sort of religious order among them, are remarkable for some peculiarity in their dress, and some austerity in their manners.

Early on the morning of the 29th October I departed from Dehr el Kamr. The road takes a north-westerly direction, and soon crosses the ridge of the mountain, when a fine view opens over its western slope down to the plain and the sea. Its sides, although the soil is thin, are well cultivated, and productive. Vines and mulberry-trees grow upon terraces which are cut in the rock with great regularity, as in some parts of Switzerland; and the prospect was now enlivened by numerous groups of peasants employed in gathering the mulberry leaves. The dress of the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon is singularly picturesque; the men wear a

short vest and large trowsers of coarse white cotton, the manufacture of the country, and a woollen jacket called an Abba, which is open in front, comes down about to the knees, and has short sleeves reaching only to the elbows; it is generally striped with red and black, and the sleeves, the shoulders, and the back, are ornamented with embroidery of the gayest colours. The higher ranks, all of whom wear the national dress, have the embroidery wrought in silk and gold; and there are some of these Abbas made for the Emir or designed for presents, which cost upwards of a thousand piastres, or thirty pounds sterling. The richer kinds, instead of being striped with red and black, are sometimes all of one colour, or variegated with red and green, and in the sun they have a very brilliant effect. The head-dress, which is common to almost all Syria, consists of a red cap, made to hang down the back like a bag, with a purple silk tassel at the end, and a silk turban over it, raised up very much in front. The Okkals are distinguished by wearing white only. The women of Mount Lebanon, as in other parts of the East, are dressed more plainly than the men; they wear a simple white gown, slightly confined by a girdle at the waist. The Druse women are distinguished by their head-dress, which consists of a horn eighteen inches long, projecting over the forehead like that of the unicorn in the royal arms; and they pride themselves exceedingly on this appendage, inappropriate as we may think it to

the female brow. It is generally made of silver, and is covered with a muslin veil which falls over the shoulders, and conceals the face either partially or wholly at the pleasure of the wearer. The inhabitants of Mount Lebanon appeared to me an industrious race, courteous and polite in their manners, both among themselves and towards strangers; but they have the character, especially the Druses, of being restless and turbulent. It is certain that they are extremely jealous of Turkish interference; and they were not at this time, I believe, very well satisfied with their own government, complaining of the heavy taxes and imposts to which they were subjected, in order to provide for the expensive tastes of the Emir, or to keep up his influence at Acre.

We descended the mountain by a road, or rather by flights of steps cut in the rock, till we reached the plain in which Beyrout, the ancient Berytus, is situated. In our way to the town we passed through a large grove of stone pines, which were planted about two hundred years ago by the celebrated Emir Facardine, or Fakr-el-din *, who took Beyrout from the Turks; and I was much struck with the extraordinary size and height of these trees as I rode along under their stately canopy. About sunset we arrived at the town, and halted at the house of M. Laurella, a Piedmontese physician, who

* See Sandys, who was his contemporary, and Maundrell. His history may be found in Volney's Travels, vol. ii.

in his own person united the consulships and represented the factories of all the European states, France excepted.

Beyrout is a dirty disagreeable place, and presents no objects of interest. During the time that it was in the hands of the Emirs, it was improved and embellished with palaces and gardens, which are now totally gone to decay: it still possesses, however, a considerable share of the trade of the Syrian coast, being the nearest port to Damascus. An old Saracenic castle stands on a hill to the south of the town, and is occupied by a Turkish Aga and a small garrison.

On the evening of the 30th *October*, Giorgio arrived much recovered, and on the following morning I resumed my journey. After two hours' ride along the plain we ascended a rocky hill, from the top of which a steep descent cut out in the rock leads to the banks of the "Nahr el Kelb," or River of the Dog. This road is of Roman origin, as several inscriptions of the Antonine age testify. On the flat side of the rock are some curious Persian and Egyptian figures: the latter are distinguished by hieroglyphics, and have been supposed to be the traces of one of the numerous irruptions which the Egyptian kings are recorded to have made into Palestine. The river is crossed by a bridge of a single arch of peculiar lightness and beauty, which was constructed not many years ago by the Emir Beshir. Its situation is extremely

picturesque; the stream runs rapidly over a bed of large round pebbles, interrupted here and there by fragments of moss-grown rock, and overshadowed by plane-trees, oleanders, and various other flowering shrubs; and close to its banks are several lofty brick arches, the remains of a Roman aqueduct, the canal of which being broken, the water rushes over, and falls into the river in a lofty cascade.

The Nahr el Kelb divides the province of Shouf, in which Dehr el Kamr is situated, from that of the Kesrouan, which is equally under the government of the Emir, but is inhabited entirely by Christians, who differ little in dress and appearance from their Druse neighbours, except that the women, instead of the horn on their foreheads, wear a sort of trumpet attached to their ear. Soon after passing the river, the road opened upon a retired and beautiful little bay, skirted by steep and broken hills, and shut up at each extremity by a rocky promontory. The sides of the hills were scattered over with the white cottages which compose the village of Zook, intermixed with groves of dark pines, and their pointed summits were crowned each by its "toppling convent." The vesper bell was tolling; and this cheerful sound, which I now heard for the first time after an interval of eighteen months*, awakened recollections of distant countries and distant friends.

* The province of the Kesrouan is, I believe, the only one in the Turkish empire in which bells are tolerated.

A narrow pass through the rocks conducted us from this retired bay into a plain, bounded on the right by the mountains, and on the left by the sea-shore. We crossed the "Nahr Ibrahim," or Adonis river, which is still distinguished by the red hue of its water; and arrived soon after at Gebail, the ancient Byblus, where a temple was dedicated, and periodical rites celebrated in honour of the personage from whom the river derived its name,—

> "Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In amorous ditties all the summer's day,
> While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood."

Gebail is a small town, surrounded by a wall flanked with towers. I did not go into it, but lodged for the night in an open coffee-house near the gate: it belongs to the Emir.

November 1st.—Soon after leaving Gebail we crossed the bed of a wide river; and at some distance further we saw on our left the small town of Batroun, the ancient Bostrys, situated on a low neck of land. To the northward of this, a lofty ridge stretches from the interior, and terminates in a perpendicular white cliff called Ras el Shakr, which overhangs the sea, and completely interrupts the road along the coast. We turned to the right at some distance from the foot of this ridge, and followed the course of a small stream up a narrow

valley, in the middle of which, on an insulated rock, stands the castle of Temseida, a solid square tower, with turrets at the angles, commanding the pass into the mountains. A little beyond this we turned to the northward, and scaled the high ridge which seemed to oppose our further progress. The view from the summit extends southward, as far as Capo Bianco, and northward to Tripoli. On descending on the northern side we passed the last guardhouse of the Emir, whose jurisdiction on the coast ends at this point, though it extends much further along the mountains in the interior.

I reached Tripoli in the evening, and the first news that I heard on my arrival there was that a rebellion had broke out at Aleppo, whither I was going; that the inhabitants had expelled the Pasha and the Turkish garrison; and that the city was in a state of close siege, and quite inaccessible to travellers, or even to a courier. This was to me exceedingly unwelcome intelligence, as I had desired letters and remittances to be sent to meet me there; the want of which, particularly of the latter, would entirely derange the plan of my journey. But there was no remedy to be found, except in patience,—the virtue most frequently called into exercise in Oriental travelling; and I therefore made up my mind to wait at Tripoli till the storm was blown over, or at least till I could obtain more accurate information as to the state of affairs.

Tripoli di Siria, so called to distinguish it from

the place of the same name in Africa, is situated at the base of a triangular plain, which runs out nearly two miles from the general line of coast. The southern side of this peninsula is now almost entirely covered with sand, but there are frequent traces of buildings. Along the north-western shore there is a range of six strong and lofty square towers, built probably by the crusaders; and at the western extremity of the plain is the Marina, or port, supposed to be the site of the ancient city, where there are some neat houses and a small khan.

The modern town is small, and contains scarcely any good houses; but it is remarkable for a general air of neatness and cleanliness, is extremely well supplied with water, and has several excellent baths. It is surrounded by extensive gardens; and the best houses being mostly situated in the western quarter, and near the walls, have the advantage of overlooking a fine grove of orange- and lemon-trees, and of being refreshed by the sea breezes. The gardens are irrigated from a small river called the Kadisha, which flows through the town, and are consequently very productive; but the quantity of stagnant water which this system of cultivation occasions, makes the place very unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, and ague fevers are extremely prevalent in the summer and autumn. The immediate environs afford some agreeable scenery; towards the sea, the banks of the river are fringed with trees and shrubs; and

at a little distance above the town, where they become steeper, there is a small mosque, and a coffee-house called Melaoui, in a very pretty situation. The greater part of the population of Tripoli is Mahometan. The Christians are chiefly Maronites, or Greeks; the Latin church being at a very low ebb. There was formerly a considerable trade in the shipment of silk to France and England, but that has now ceased; and the principal exports are oranges and lemons, which are grown in great abundance and of very superior quality, and are sent to all parts of the empire. There is also a sponge fishery, which supplies one or two cargoes annually. The French still maintain a consul here, though their factory is reduced to a single merchant. M. Regnault, who now held the office, was one of the *savans* who accompanied the French expedition to Egypt; and was afterwards for many years consul in Cyprus, where he conducted himself on several occasions with so much spirit, and acquired so high a reputation, that he was continued in his post after the restoration of the Bourbons. But, unfortunately, he chose the wrong side during the "hundred days;" and in consequence of this error, although the recollection of his former services prevented his actual dismissal, he was consigned to an honourable exile, or what he called a "*sepulture vivante*" at this obscure port. He bore his misfortunes, however, with the characteristic philosophy of his nation; and among different schemes for

amusing his retirement, he had set up a small printing press, and published several numbers of a newspaper (the first, probably, that had ever appeared in Syria), which he called "*L'Ermite du Mont Liban.*" As his society was limited to his own secretary and *cancellier*, two old Levantines, the arrival of a stranger he considered a God-send; and travellers of whatever nation were alike welcome at his hospitable table.

At the convent of the Terra Santa, where I lodged, I met with one of those eccentric characters, which perhaps our own country alone can send forth. The Rev. Mr. S. was an English clergyman, nearly seventy years of age, who had taken the pains to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to obtain the cross of the order of the Holy Sepulchre, which is in the gift of the Superior of the Terra Santa. On his arrival, however, he found that this order was exclusively for Catholics, having never been conferred on a Protestant, except in the solitary instance of Sir Sidney Smith, who had rendered signal service to the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. Mr. S. was extremely disappointed, and thought himself much aggrieved that the rule was not relaxed in his favour also; and in order to dissipate his chagrin, he made an extensive tour in Syria; in the course of which, being little skilled in any language but his own, and moreover of an extremely warm and passionate temperament, ill-suited to the tedious progress of travelling in that country, he was in-

volved in perpetual quarrels with almost every person with whom he came in contact, and was frequently reduced to circumstances of great embarrassment. At Damascus, for instance, having refused to pay the muleteers who had conducted him thither, they summoned him before the Cadi; and on his refusing also to obey the summons, some janissaries were sent to apprehend him. As the convent of the Terra Santa, however, where he lodged, possesses the privilege of asylum, the friars shut their gates, and the officers were obliged to attempt an entry through the window of his apartment. There they found him barricadoed in, and ready to receive them; and he defended himself for some time with great vigour, till the friars knowing that he had fire-arms, and fearing that some serious mischief might ensue, broke open the door of his room, and conveyed him by force to the judgement-seat. At Balbec he was robbed and left in confinement by his own servant; and on his way to Aleppo, having quarrelled with his guide, he quitted his horses and baggage, and travelled for several days on foot and alone. Our agent at that city, who had been informed that an English clergyman was on the road thither, described to me his astonishment, when instead of the comely person which he had been used to associate with his idea of that respectable character, Mr. S. presented himself at the Consulate, with scarcely any dress but a Mashlakh of the coarsest materials, a large straw hat on his head,

and a bag containing his provisions slung between his legs. He afterwards left Syria, and made a voyage up the Nile; during which, disdaining the assistance of an interpreter, he had no way of explaining himself to the boat's crew but by signs, which if they were at all slow in comprehending, he sometimes enforced by firing a pistol over their heads. A mutiny was very soon the consequence; which was only repressed by the strong arm of Belzoni, whom good fortune sent to his assistance. In spite of every difficulty and opposition, however, he reached the second cataract in safety, and there hired a guide to conduct him across the desert to Dongola; his earnest wish being to penetrate further into the country than any other traveller had then done. It is almost needless to say that the scheme completely failed; the guide kept him wandering about till his money was exhausted, and then brought him back to Wadi Elfi. He had now returned to Syria for the express purpose of seeing Palmyra, which he had been prevented from visiting on a former occasion; but was for the present detained in this convent by an attack of ophthalmia.

Tripoli is in the more immediate neighbourhood of the highest ridges of Mount Lebanon; and the principal curiosities of that elevated region are within the reach of a short excursion;—the famous grove of cedars, the secluded Maronite convents, and the village of Eden, whose delightful situation has led some persons to suppose it the actual scene

of the loves and errors of our first parents *. I procured a letter of introduction to the shekh of that village; and on the 6th of November, the weather being still beautifully clear, and as warm as summer, I set out on an excursion thither.

On leaving the town, we proceeded to the eastward over a wide plain interspersed with large groves of olives, and then began to ascend the mountain by a road abounding in picturesque beauty. In some places we passed between cliffs so high and overhanging, as almost to exclude the light above our heads; and then winding round some projecting rock, we saw on one side the rich plains of Tripoli varied with dark masses of olive-trees, and bounded by the blue sea; and on the other, the snowy summits of Lebanon glittering in the full radiance of the sun. After an ascent of about five hours, we reached an extensive platform, on which the village of Eden is situated, its scattered cottages intermixed with gardens and groves of lofty walnut-trees.

The Shekh Boutros† Keram, to whom I had letters, was a middle-aged man, with a fine open countenance, and extremely polite in his manners.

* I heard one day at Tripoli, a warm discussion as to the situation of the terrestrial Paradise between Mr. S. and the superior of the convent; which an Italian physician, who was present, concluded, somewhat to the annoyance of the disputants, by a remark alike applicable perhaps to many more important controversies: "*Chi meno ne sa piu ne parla.*" "He who knows the least about it talks the most."

† The Arabic for Peter.

He gave me a very cordial reception; and after drinking coffee under a stately walnut-tree, we retired to his house, which consisted of only a few rooms on the ground floor, being intended merely for a summer residence, when this elevated situation affords a cool and healthy retreat from the great heat of the plains. His principal mansion was at Sgorta, a village about an hour's ride from Tripoli. Soon after sunset we sat down to a supper, for the frugality of which the shekh made many apologies. The party consisted of his son, a fine boy of about thirteen, and a cunning-looking old fellow named Yussuff, who had been formerly in the service of some Frank merchants at Tripoli, spoke a little broken French, and acted as interpreter. The wife of the shekh did not make her appearance; as the Christians of Syria, in compliance with the custom of their Turkish neighbours, generally keep their women in a separate apartment *.

November 9th.—A little rain had fallen during the night, which made me apprehensive that the weather was going to change. I determined therefore to pursue my journey without delay; but the hospitable shekh would not allow me to depart, without promising to visit him again on my way back to Tripoli on the following day.

Soon after leaving the village, we descended by a winding path into a deep and narrow valley,

* This custom, however, is not invariable among the Christians, especially in those places which have much intercourse with Franks.

whose sides were covered with magnificent oak woods. Here, in a most retired situation, half hid among the trees, and overhanging a mountain stream, stands the convent of St. Anthony of Kozhaia, on the spot where that saint is said to have spent a part of his life in solitary meditation. It contains seventy or eighty resident friars ; and some more austere brethren, who prefer imitating closely the model of their patron, are lodged in lonely cells and hermitages in the cliffs which rise above it. The superior received us with great politeness, and gave us a very good rural dinner, consisting of poultry, vegetables, and salads, and some very excellent wine. He alone of all the fraternity was entitled to partake of this good fare ; as the other friars are restricted by the rules of their order to a very homely diet, frequently interrupted by long and severe fasts, and are denied even the common luxuries of coffee and tobacco. They are not of the idle race which is generally supposed to inhabit religious houses: being far removed from any town, they are compelled to do every thing for themselves ; and there are to be found among them carpenters, shoemakers, and every class of artificers which their simple mode of life requires. Some of them are employed in cultivating the lands belonging to the foundation, and others in an extensive printing establishment, which has for some years been attached to the convent, and from which the neighbouring Christians are supplied with missals, prayer-books,

legends of the saints, religious tracts, and such portions of the Scriptures as are not withheld from the laity by the fears or prudence of the Catholic church. They are printed in what is called Carshoon, or the Arabic language in Syriac characters, which the generality of the people comprehend. The printing is very good, the types are founded in the convent, and the paper comes from Venice.

The monks of Kozhaia still pretend to the miraculous power of exorcising and casting out devils; and as the popular belief gives full credit to their pretensions, maniacs are continually brought to them for cure. Two had been dismissed only just before my arrival. The scene of their operations is a large grotto excavated in a cliff which overhangs the convent. In this dark and gloomy cavern the patient is heavily chained, and supplied with very scanty fare; a priest remains constantly near him, muttering certain forms of prayer; and he is from time to time drenched with cold water, poured over him from buckets. This rude discipline is no doubt often successful; and should any evil spirit be found hardy enough to resist the repeated assaults of an element so opposite to his native one, the monks find a ready excuse for their failure by attributing it to the patient's want of faith.

On leaving the convent of Kozhaia we descended to the bottom of the valley, crossed the stream, and climbed up the rocks on the opposite side, which are also thickly overgrown with oak-wood. When we

reached their summit, the character of the scenery quite altered, and the forests were exchanged for barren crags spread round in all directions, and increasing in ruggedness and desolation the further we advanced. The road was in several places almost impassable, and we were frequently obliged to dismount and lead our horses. It was near sunset when we arrived at Kanobin, the situation of which is quite opposite in character to that of the neighbouring convent. Kozhaia nestles closely on the side of a woody steep; it is scarcely visible till closely approached, and commands no view but over its own sequestered valley. Kanobin stands on a bold crag overlooking a vast chasm, which separates it from the snowy peaks of the high Lebanon. The convent is small, and a great part of it is excavated in the rock. It is very ancient, and may be considered the cradle of the Maronite church; being the place to which the early founders of that sect retreated from the persecutions of the more orthodox Christians of the plains. It continued to be the residence of the patriarch till the middle of the last century, when it was thought no longer a secure retreat; as its situation near the eastern frontier of the mountain exposed it to the attacks of the Motoualis from the vale of Bekaa. The patriarchate was therefore removed to a convent near the sea; and it is only about eight years ago that it was again transferred to its ancient seat. The Patriarch John, to whom I was presented, was a fine old man,

upwards of eighty years of age, with a commanding aspect, and a white beard flowing down to his waist. He was clothed in the full dress of a rich Turkish Aga, except that instead of the *kaouk* he had on his head a crimson velvet cap of the shape usually worn by the Maronite clergy. Like most of the superior priests of his church, he had in his youth studied at Rome, and still remembered enough of Italian to welcome me in the complimentary strain of that language. My interview with him was short. Being himself occupied in transacting some business, he recommended me to the care of his clergy; and I retired with some of them to sup in an adjoining apartment, which commanded from its windows a prospect of wild and solitary grandeur. I passed a pleasant evening with these worthy ecclesiastics, who treated me with the greatest attention; and, what never happened to me before, and probably never will again, I was lighted to bed by two Bishops.

November 8th.—I returned about noon to Eden, where the Shekh Boutros had provided a dinner, the abundance of which might well compensate for the frugal supper of the former evening. Indeed, one of the chief inconveniences of visiting in these countries is the great exertion which is constantly imposed upon the organs of digestion. The breakfast, it is true, consists merely of a cup of coffee and a small piece of bread or cake, or perhaps a few pomegranate seeds mixed with sugar; but at

twelve o'clock a dinner is served up consisting of a great variety of tempting dishes; the salads especially are among the best I ever tasted, both the vegetables and the oil of the mountain being of the first quality. At sunset the same substantial meal is repeated; and the host would feel hurt if his guests did not eat heartily at both.

The next morning I set off before day-break from Eden, accompanied by the shekh. We took a direction towards the highest peaks of Mount Lebanon; and after a ride of about two hours and a half, arrived at the famous clump of cedars, supposed to be the remains of the large forests of that wood, which are recorded to have occupied the mountain in the days of Solomon and Hiram. The temperature, as we approached the snowy heights, rapidly changed; and though at Tripoli, and even at Eden, there had not been the slightest degree of cold, we were here almost numbed, notwithstanding the precaution we had taken of wrapping ourselves up in thick sheep-skin pelisses. We dismounted from our horses, and were glad to sit down and drink our coffee by the side of a blazing fire of cedar-wood, which the attendants had kindled. I afterwards walked round and surveyed the trees. There are perhaps about a hundred of them, and some few are of extraordinary bulk; but whether from their being of a different species, or from the inhospitality of the climate, none of them have the towering height and spiry form which belong to the trees

which bear the same name in our English gardens Some of them are of very great age. On one of the largest I observed the date of 1678 inscribed; and from the appearance of the figures, I was disposed to think that the tree was then nearly as large as when I saw it. These cedars have long been supposed to be the remains of the ancient forest; but it may be observed that they have the appearance of an artificial clump; and if indigenous, it is singular that they should occupy one small spot alone, and that no others should be found in the neighbourhood.

At no great distance from the cedars are the sources of the Kadisha, and near them the village of Besharrai, the highest inhabited spot on the mountain. It is the summer residence of a shekh and a few of his followers, who retire in the winter to the plain, and leave their cottages to be buried in the snow, which for four months in the year overspreads the whole of this elevated district, and which had already rendered the passage over the mountain into the vale of Bekaa difficult and dangerous.

On the 10th of November I returned to Tripoli; and a week afterwards the news of the insurrection at Aleppo was confirmed in its fullest extent. The Turkish authorities and garrison had been either expelled or massacred, and the troops of Kourschid Pasha were now blockading the city. As I knew the dilatory character of Turkish warfare, I renounced all hopes of prosecuting my journey in that

direction; and as all commercial proceedings in Upper Syria were at a stand, I had no chance there of replenishing my exchequer. I determined, therefore, to go to Damascus, where I hoped to succeed in this object, and where I should be favourably situated for availing myself of any opportunity which might offer of visiting Palmyra. The Rev. Mr. S. was very desirous to go with me to the latter place; but as I felt no disposition to undertake with such a companion a journey in itself sufficiently hazardous, I declined his overtures, on the plea of not being able to wait for his recovery.

CHAPTER XII.

DAMASCUS.

On the 20th of November, the weather being still very fine, I left Tripoli, and retraced my steps to the village of Zook, whose pleasant situation I have already mentioned. I there left the direct road to Beyrout, in order to visit the convent of Antoura, the residence of Monsignor Gandolfi, the apostolic vicar or representative of the papal authority in Syria, to whom I had a letter of introduction from the French consul at Tripoli. It is placed in a beautiful situation in the hills at about an hour's ride from the sea-shore, and commands from its terraced roof a fine view of the bay and the village. The duties of the apostolic vicar in Syria are complicated and difficult. The whole Catholic church of that country, divided as it is into various nations, is under his superintendence; and he has full employment in arranging the disputes and thwarting the intrigues of contending bishops and patriarchs, and in protecting the privileges of the church against the encroachments of rapacious shekhs and emirs. M. Gandolfi was peculiarly fitted for the office; as he had lived many years in the country, understood the language, and possessed much shrewdness and dexterity, united with

1819

great mildness of temper and politeness of manners. His revenues were moderate, and his mode of life very simple; but his hospitality was extensive, and his house seldom without visitors from the neighbourhood. On the day that I was at Antoura he congratulated himself on being alone, and able to devote a few hours to conversation with a stranger. Notwithstanding his remote abode, he took great interest in European affairs; his sentiments on all points were extremely liberal; and the Oriental artifice and intrigue which he had frequent opportunities of observing in the clergy of the mountains, did not put him in very good humour with his own order. His only companion was M. La Grange, nephew to the celebrated astronomer, a young Piedmontese of very considerable talents, who had left his country when it was reduced to its primitive insignificance by being detached from the French empire, and had come to seek fortune or an asylum in the East.

At a little distance from M. Gandolfi's mansion is a nunnery, one of the most popular, as well as the largest in the mountain, and chiefly occupied by the daughters of respectable families. It contained at this time about forty nuns. The order is that of St. Francis de Salis, the rule of which is very rigid; and the nuns after their noviciate never go beyond the boundaries of the small garden and orchard which surround the convent. I had brought a letter for one of them from her brother, whom I

had known at Tripoli, and in the evening I went to pay her a visit. I was introduced into the *parlatorio,* and she came accompanied by the abbess to the hatch-door. The inner room in which they sat was soon crowded with the sisterhood, who reached over one another's shoulders to peep at the stranger. They all seemed in an extremely merry mood, and frequently burst out into loud fits of laughter, without any apparent cause. I never saw a collection of more cheerful faces; and M. Gandolfi, who superintends the convent, told me that the looks of these fair nuns were not deceitful, but that they passed their time very happily, employed in the domestic affairs of the house, in cultivating their garden, and in various kinds of needle-work. Monastic life in general is, I believe, much more happy than our prejudices are willing to allow; and it seems peculiarly calculated to afford a refuge to the weaker sex in a country like this, where among the middle classes the women, if married, are condemned to every kind of domestic drudgery, and exposed without protection to the caprice or tyranny of their husbands. "Get thee to a nunnery!" are here words of no threatening import; on the contrary, the opportunity of being admitted into one is always eagerly embraced.

I staid to dine the following day with M. Gandolfi, and went in the evening to Beyrout. The next morning I set out for Damascus by the caravan route, which leaves the road to Dehr el Kamr

on the right. It required nearly the whole day to climb the mountain; and it was almost sunset when we arrived at its topmost ridge, and caught a view over the vale of Bekaa and the chain of Anti Libanus. We halted for the night at a wretched khan a little way down the eastern side of the mountain. It was quite filled with merchants from Damascus, and Mogrebin recruits going to join the garrison there; and I was obliged to sleep upon some bags of straw in an adjoining granary.

November 25th.—I early left this uncomfortable lodging, and descended the mountain. The weather in the interior had not been so fine as on the sea-coast, and as we "passed through the valley of Bekaa, we found that the rain had filled the pools." Large tracts were covered with standing water, which we crossed on ruined causeways; and there was a damp feel in the air, to which we had been long unaccustomed. We were about four hours in crossing the vale, which is fertile, but not so highly cultivated as the mountain. The villages are mud-built, and reminded me very much of those in Egypt. We passed the Kasmia by an old half ruinous bridge. The ascent of Anti Libanus is very gradual. The soil is quite different from that of the opposite mountain, and the road in consequence much better; but there is not the appearance of populousness and activity which is to be observed among the rocks of Lebanon. Scarcely any of the ground is cultivated; and we frequently rode for hours without perceiving any

signs of animation, except the eagles soaring over our heads, and a few goats browsing upon the short grass. The sky today was overcast, and there was a sharp easterly wind. In the evening we arrived at the little village of Damas, where again we found the khan quite full; and should not have been able to procure a lodging, had it not been for the hospitality of a Turk who invited us to his house. The next morning we set out before day-light in company with a small caravan of Christians who were going from a neighbouring village to Damascus. We continued our road for some distance over an open down, and then descended into a valley, through which flowed a beautiful stream, whose course we followed for some distance; and after leaving it we came upon an extensive barren plain with a rugged and unequal surface. On a projecting brow at the edge of this plain stands a Marabout or Shekh's tomb, on the spot, as it is reported, from which Mahomet viewed Damascus*;—and the view is certainly glorious. The morning was overcast, and thick clouds were sweeping over the plain below us; but now and then a transient gleam of sunshine discovered the domes and minarehs rising as if from a tufted forest, which seen thus partially and at intervals, appeared of boundless extent. A broad road leads down from the Shekh's tomb through a large

* It is a well known story that the Prophet refused to enter Damascus, saying that "one paradise only was allotted to man, and that he preferred taking his in the next world."

suburb to the city, which, like all other Turkish towns, so beautiful when seen at a distance, disappoints on a nearer approach. We entered by the western gate, and had to pass through the whole of the bazar to arrive at the Terra Santa convent, which is at the opposite side of the city. Like all the Christian houses in Damascus, it is entered by a small door scarcely to be passed without stooping; but within it is airy and spacious, being built round two courts, and containing several very good apartments, to one of which I was soon conducted, and was glad to take some repose after a fatiguing and comfortless journey.

The next morning I went out to see the return of the pilgrims from Mecca. We left the city by a gate very near the convent; and after riding for some distance under the walls, fell into a road which leads to the village of Medoua, and the "Birket el Hadgi," or "lake of the pilgrims," where they assemble at their return, as well as at their departure. The road was covered with camels loaded with baggage, and carrying large *tartarouans* or litters filled with men, women, and children, whose sallow looks and dilapidated equipments bore testimony to the fatigue and privation of a six weeks' journey through the desert. It may give some idea of the numbers of the pilgrims and of the vast train of baggage which accompanied them, to say, that though they had begun to enter the city soon after sunset on the preceding day, and had continued to come in almost

uninterruptedly during the night, yet at noon they had not all arrived. The Pasha still remained at Medoua; and the motsellim, the mollah, the cadi, and all the principal officers and inhabitants were gone out to meet him there, and to conduct him back to the city. The plain where we halted was covered with horsemen, who exhibited every variety of costume, from the ragged Bedouin on his half-starved mare, to the portly Osmanli moving solemnly along on his well fed and richly caparisoned steed; while numerous groups of pedestrians were strolling about, or sitting cross-legged, smoking their *nargillays* in the shade. The weather was finer than it had been of late, and the sun shone out in all the splendour of a southern winter's day.

After waiting about two hours, a cloud of dust on the side of the Birket el Hadgi, and the sound of distant music, announced the approach of the Pasha. He was preceded by a detachment of cavalry, after which came the principal officers and inhabitants, riding two-and-two. Being himself ill and fatigued by the long and dangerous journey, he was carried in a litter slung between two camels. This was surrounded by a party of Albanian soldiers; twelve led horses followed with gilt shields hung to the saddle-bow, and another detachment of cavalry brought up the rear. The procession was numerous, but very inferior to similar pageants which I had seen in Egypt. The dresses were not so various or splendid as those of Cairo, and the

Delhis* with their high straight black caps and dingy attire could not be put in comparison with the gay mamelukes of Mahomet Ali.

The flowery descriptions of the Arabian writers have raised expectations which the traveller will hardly find realized at Damascus. The beauty of its situation, the abundance of its waters, and the great extent of its gardens and groves, may indeed seem to justify the pre-eminence which in our imagination it has acquired beyond all the cities of the East; but there is nothing in its interior to justify this notion. In the cleanliness of the streets and the solidity of the buildings it must yield the palm to Aleppo; and in magnificence it cannot be compared to Constantinople. The houses are, for the most part, very mean in their external appearance, being composed of wooden frame-work, the interstices of which are filled up with sun-burnt bricks, and the whole is covered with a white or yellowish plaster, which, however, is generally kept very clean. The streets are wider than the generality of Eastern cities can boast of, the pavement is good, and in some of them there is a broad *trottoir*. The principal mosque was once the Christian church of St. John the Baptist. It is a very fine building, consisting of a nave and side aisles, separated by ranges of columns, and it is surmounted by a lofty square tower now used as a minareh. On one side of the

* Literally "madmen;" the name generally given to the Turkish cavalry.

mosque is a very spacious quadrangular court, surrounded by a colonnade of granite pillars, which opens into the bazar.

The bazars are perhaps the finest in the empire after those of the metropolis. They are spacious, lofty, and extremely well supplied with all sorts of merchandize, both foreign and domestic. The shopkeepers I found attentive and civil; though in an Eastern bazar one must not expect the prompt and bustling obsequiousness of Soho-square or the Palais Royal. The Turk or Armenian slowly rises from his seat; and probably if you have been before at his shop, or are likely to be a good customer, he will offer you his pipe or *nargillay*, and send his attendant to a neighbouring coffee-house for coffee, while he is leisurely searching for the article you inquire for in the dark recesses of his ill-arranged and crowded stall. By the time that you have finished the pipe and drank the coffee it is perhaps found; but to fix the price is a still more tedious affair, as the shopkeeper is sure to ask twice as much as he means to take: and the Levantine dragoman who attends you, anxious to show his zeal in your service, will think an hour's reasoning and conversation well bestowed if in a bargain he can save a single para, that is to say the thirtieth part of sixpence.

The great khan of Damascus is perhaps one of the finest commercial buildings in the world. Its area is nearly equal to that of the Royal Exchange in London. It is built of the most solid masonry, covered with a vaulted roof, and lighted by a cupola.

The basement in the interior is occupied by large shops like those of the bazar, closed by falling shutters, which when let down form a show-board for the goods, and a seat for the proprietor. Above these shops are two tiers of arched corridors, each of which communicates with a range of commodious apartments, occupied by the merchants as counting-houses and magazines. From these arcades it was amusing to look down into the interior of the khan, and observe the various characters collected there:—the Damascene Turk, distinguishable by the plainness of his dress and dignity of his carriage; the Bagdad merchant, glittering in gay colours and rich shawls; Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, in their sombre blue robes; Persians, with their black curly beards, close vests, and shaggy caps; Bedouins, with their dingy mashlakhs; Albanian soldiers; black slaves; and bare-legged porters and camel-drivers. Bales of merchandize were lying on the ground, and the tinkling bells of the camels frequently announced that a fresh caravan was coming to deposit its stores: but when in the midst of this bustle the Muezzin from the tower of the great mosque announced the hour of prayer, business was instantly suspended, and the faithful were soon engaged in performing their ablutions at the fountain in the centre of the khan, or in spreading their *satcherdehs** on their shop-boards.

The baths of Damascus are generally large, well-

* The carpets used for kneeling upon at prayers.

served, and amply supplied with water; but they are old and dingy, and want the cleanliness which we find in those of Smyrna or Constantinople. The same remark may be made as to the coffee-houses, which are, generally speaking, very dirty and shabby. They appeared to be little frequented by persons of the upper ranks, though often crowded to excess with the lower classes of the people, when some story-teller was reciting the "*Elfi Leilah wa Leilah**," or the marvellous adventures of Antar.

However plain and unpromising the external appearance of the private houses may be, the interior of most of them is comfortable, of some, splendid. They are almost all built on the same plan. The narrow door of entrance conducts through a low passage to an open court, three sides of which are occupied by rooms; in the fourth, and generally facing the north, is an open alcove, provided with divans and cushions, the favourite place for conversation and repose; while a fountain, which plays in the court-yard, diffuses its freshness around. The most magnificent house, or rather palace, in Damascus, is that of the family of Ben-Adam, or "the Sons of Man;" one of the most ancient and illustrious of the Turkish empire, and which has given many pashas to the Syrian provinces†. It occupies a very large space of ground, and is profusely ornamented with marble and carved work, in

* The Thousand and One Nights.

† See Volney's Travels, vol. ii.

the richest Arabesque style. The family of the Ben-Adam, however, has been for some time on the decline; their wealth has considerably diminished; and this superb palace, which belongs now to a child, has long been untenanted, and is fast falling to decay. Of Greek and Roman antiquity there is not a vestige at Damascus, unless it be the great mosque, which was probably built under the Lower Empire. Of the Christian history several memorials remain: in the garden of a small house belonging to a Turk is a grotto which passes for the house of Ananias; at a little distance from the eastern gate of the city is a spot which is pointed out as the scene of St. Paul's conversion; and a window in a tower in the eastern wall is said to be that from which he was let down in a basket and made his escape; although a lion and fleur-de-lis, which surmount the arch, may seem to refer its construction to the romantic rather than the apostolic age.

My first inquiries at Damascus were directed to the state of things at Aleppo, but I could obtain no accurate intelligence; so open are the people of these countries to rumour and fabrication, that although the art of printing is scarcely known, it is almost as difficult to arrive at the truth of facts, as if there was a regular daily press with its train of reporters and correspondents. I applied to the Jew Salomone, the government saraff or banker, to cash my bills on Constantinople; but he excused himself on the ground of having, on a former occasion,

advanced money to some Englishmen, who turned out impostors; and I had therefore no resource but to send a courier to my friend Pasquale Malagamba at Acre, and make up my mind to remain at Damascus till his return. The prospect of being detained there for an indefinite time was not very agreeable. There are few places which afford less resources to an European traveller. The number of Franks, or even of persons able to speak any Western language, is exceedingly limited. The French agent M. Chaboçeau, who had left his country as physician to M. de Choiseul before the revolution, was a model of the Frenchman of other times, extremely polite, and full of anecdotes of the *vieille cour*; but he was more than eighty years of age, and completely deaf. Besides him and the friars, the only Franks were M. Beaudin, a very respectable young Frenchman, who had been dragoman to Lady Hester Stanhope, and was now established as a merchant, and two brothers named Contessini, one of whom I afterwards engaged as a dragoman. There were about eighteen friars, all Spaniards, and the greater part of them extremely shy and reserved, spending their time in counting their beads, or in other religious duties. But the office of superior in the convent at Damascus is one of the most important that the order can bestow; and the Padre Francesco who now held it, was an acute, well-informed, and well-educated man; of whom it might be said, as Maundrell said of one of his predecessors, that

"though he had dedicated himself to the contemplative life, yet was he not unfit for any affairs of the active." I was fortunate too in falling in with another casual visitor like myself, the Viscount Deportes, an officer who had been sent by the French government to purchase Arabian horses, and who came to Damascus for a few days to inspect the studs of some of the wealthy Turkish inhabitants. This gentleman had seen many vicissitudes in life, and was a very pleasant companion. In his youth he had been one of the pages to the unfortunate Princesse de Lamballe; and at the revolution he had emigrated, and served in the allied armies. He afterwards remained for some years in England, but returned to France when Buonaparte granted the amnesty to the emigrants, and had since been employed in various services. He was now considerably passed middle life, but retained all the energy of youth, and was one of the most decidedly national characters I ever met with, all the excellencies and defects of his countrymen shining out in full relief.

The population of Damascus has been variously estimated at from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand. A great uncertainty hangs over this subject in all Turkish towns, where no register is kept: but the haratch or poll-tax, levied on all Rayah subjects, affords some grounds for judging of the Christian population, which is estimated, perhaps with tolerable accuracy, at twenty

thousand. Of these the Catholics of different nations form a very large proportion, and the church of the Terra Santa being the only Catholic place of worship in Damascus, they are all in the habit of frequenting it. The friars have a very great influence over the whole body, which they no doubt employ very much to the advantage of their order. Some of the richest merchants in Damascus are Catholics; and I observed that they made almost daily visits to the convent, and were treated with great attention by the superior. In their turn they are extremely courteous to European travellers, and much flattered by receiving visits from them. The Christian subjects, indeed, throughout the empire cling fondly to Frank protection, and are willing to hope that it may some time or other be instrumental in rescuing them from the oppression of their Turkish lords. "Are we not all Christians?" they say; and in spite of the many bitter lessons they have received, it seems that they have yet to learn how weak is the band of a common faith in the strong grasp of political expediency.

Damascus being the place from whence the pilgrims set out to cross the desert, is called the "Gate of Mecca;" is supposed to be invested with a character of peculiar sanctity, and may be considered as the head-quarters of the high Mahometan church. Very little intercourse, except on affairs of business, exists between the Turks and Christians; but they live in other respects on very friendly

terms. The bigotry of the Turk is, indeed, rather of a passive than an active nature; showing itself in contempt rather than in violence; and, unless provoked by open rebellion or by any great outrage against his habits or prejudices, it must, I think, be allowed (when we consider the high privileges of his caste) that he "bears his faculties meekly." He punishes, it is true, severely those who blaspheme his Prophet, and stigmatizes as infidels and idolaters those who differ from him in opinion; but some nations who vaunt the tolerant spirit of their institutions have done the same.

The upper classes of the Turks at Damascus I found uniformly polite and obliging. The most distinguished among them was Achmet Bey, the head of one of the branches of the great family of Ben-Adam, which I have before mentioned. He was a man of mean appearance and crooked person, but had a desire for information, and a fondness for the company of strangers and travellers, particularly Franks, which is very rare in a Mussulman. To all Englishmen he was particularly attentive, professing himself under great obligations to Dr. Richardson, Lord Belmore's physician, from whose prescriptions he had derived much benefit. I frequently visited him, and found him on all occasions willing to render me any little service I might stand in need of.

In compliance with the prejudices of the middle and lower classes, and in consequence of the little

intercourse which they have had with Franks, some usages and restrictions are still kept up at Damascus, which have ceased to exist in almost every other part of the empire. For instance, no one can safely venture into the streets in the European dress. I was one day standing in the great khan, when an unfortunate Cephaloniote Greek, either ignorant of the custom of the place, or vain of the Frank clothes which perhaps he had but lately assumed, made his appearance in that attire. A crowd instantly gathered round him, and the process of stripping was forthwith commenced. His hat, an object to him of peculiar pride, but to the Turks* of peculiar aversion, was struck off, and kicked contemptuously along the ground; his coat was rent into shreds; and he would soon have been turned adrift in a state of nature, if compassion for my fellow citizen had not led me to interfere in his behalf. I desired the interpreter to represent to some of the more respectable among the spectators, with several of whom I was acquainted, that I was persuaded he acted from ignorance, and not in defiance of the custom; and as he was under English protection, I hoped they would let him go without further molestation. This appeal was successful. His clothes were unfortunately ruined beyond repair, but we borrowed for him a large mashlakh, which served to cover the little that remained of

* This aversion is so great that one of their forms of cursing is, "May you wear a hat."

his Frank costume, tied a handkerchief round his head, and engaged a Turk to conduct him, terrified and crest-fallen, to the house of the Greek archbishop, to whom he was addressed.

A great objection also exists to Christians being seen on horseback in Damascus; and I therefore took care in my rides either to pass through the bye-streets, or to go out of the town at the gate nearest the convent. I had not been informed, however, that both Turks and Christians were alike prohibited from carrying arms in the city; and this ignorance led me one day into rather an awkward adventure. My usual dress was that of a Turkish soldier, of which a sword forms a part; and as long custom had familiarized me to this apparel, I passed for some time unobserved among the crowd; but the dress of M. Deportes, which had been constructed at Marseilles after the most approved model of the "Theatre François," and which presented a grotesque combination of the Oriental and European style, immediately announced that he was not a genuine believer. A few days after his arrival, as we were walking together through the bazar, I observed among the people an unusual bustle and whispering, which increased as we advanced; till at last several persons came up to us, and asked the dragoman rather roughly, how the Franks could presume to carry arms, which are prohibited even to the Turks in Damascus. Contessini endeavoured to appease them by saying, that we were officers of

powers friendly to their sovereign, and provided with firmans empowering us to carry arms wherever we chose. But this explanation did not satisfy them: they still continued to follow us; and though they offered neither violence nor insult, their number so increased as we passed through the bazar, that we were glad to seek refuge in M. Beaudin's counting-house, in the upper story of the great khan. The crowd came pouring after us through the gates; and I was rather startled at looking down from the corridor to see the whole area filled with people, chiefly of the lower classes of tradesmen, who were now beginning to grow noisy and tumultuous. M. Beaudin himself soon after arrived, having heard of the disturbance, and made his way with some difficulty through the crowd, who promised however not to molest the Franks while they remained in his apartment, but declared that they should not come out without disarming themselves. This he advised us to do; but the temper of my companion would not allow him to think for a moment of submitting to such a degradation. "*C'est le roi mon maitre,*" exclaimed the indignant Frenchman, "*qui m'a donné mon sabre, et je le porte devant le Père Eternel:*"—and I, not wishing to compromise the English character, declared my resolution to stand by him in language as firm, though perhaps less energetic. We prepared to sally forth; but Beaudin in the meantime had, without informing us, taken the more prudent measure of sending a messenger to acquaint the Mot-

sellim with what was going forward; and he immediately sent back word that he would order out a guard to relieve us from our disagreeable situation. As soon as this news was circulated, it produced a very strong effect: the crowd instantly began to disperse; and those who had been the most noisy and tumultuous were the most eager to make their escape. The assembled multitude, which could not be less than two thousand in number, fled like sheep at the approach of twenty diminutive Albanians; shut up their shops in the bazar with the greatest dispatch; and when the guard arrived, most of them were already at prayers in the court of the great mosque. About a dozen stragglers were apprehended and conveyed to the seraglio, and a detachment of the guard escorted us to the convent, where we paid for our imprudence in the shape of a heavy *bacsheesh* to the soldiers. This was the only mischief that resulted from our adventure; but in the evening, the Motsellim sent his secretary, a Greek, to apologize for what had happened, and to request at the same time, that, as a mark of favour to himself, we would comply with the prejudices of the people, and desist from carrying the weapons which had occasioned so much confusion. —To a request made so politely we of course immediately acceded.

CHAPTER XIII.

BALBEC.—MALOULA.

At the end of a fortnight I received an answer from Signor Malagamba, in which he expressed his willingness to send me the money I wanted; but as he told me that another fortnight would elapse before there would be an opportunity of so doing, I determined to employ the interval in making an excursion in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Giorgio being again disabled by the ague, I engaged Giambatista Contessini to accompany me: and as M. Deportes was about to return to his head-quarters at Seida, we agreed to travel together for the first stage.

We set out on the 13th of December in the afternoon, and took the same road by which I had come to Damascus. On reaching the shekh's tomb, on the brow of the hill, the view of the city and its environs, which on the former occasion was obscured by mist, now lay before us in all the splendour of a cloudless sky; the groves still retained their foliage tinged with the rich hues of autumn, and the sun gilded the crescents of the mosques and minarehs. We had several companions; and a number of led horses with us; and as we had a great deal of broken ground to pass over, our pro-

gress was much retarded by the length of our cavalcade. It was dark when we arrived at Assanieen, a little village consisting of a few straggling cottages on the side of a steep hill near the banks of the Barrady. We were lodged in a house rather larger than the rest, but consisting of one apartment only, which was to serve both for our horses and ourselves. In one corner was a large chimney, and in front of it the earthen floor was raised about two feet above the level of the other part of the room. Here we spread our mats; and with some cold provisions brought from Damascus, some rice which the cottagers boiled for us, and a bowl of punch, we contrived to pass a very comfortable evening. After supper some of our party amused themselves with singing Arabic songs, to the infinite delight of the villagers, who crowded in to listen. The Frenchmen of the party, too, occasionally gave us a national air, and the wild mountains of Syria echoed to the notes of Henri Quatre and the Marseillois Hymn. An Arab dance concluded the evening's amusements; after which we lay down to sleep, our dumb companions occupying the lower stage of the apartment, each with a *sais* or groom reposing by his side.

The next morning we were mounted and ready for our departure before sunrise. M. Deportes with his horses took the road towards Seida, and I pursued my journey among the mountains accompanied by Contessini. We soon arrived at a romantic

pass, where I observed on the opposite side of the river several sepulchral grottoes and the remains of an aqueduct cut along the face of the rock. This pass opened on an upland plain, from which the stream burst down into the valley in a magnificent cascade. We soon arrived at Zebdany, a pretty village in the plain washed by the river, and surrounded by lofty groves of Lombardy poplars, which grow luxuriantly among these mountains. The view from the village down the valley was terminated by the snowy peaks of the Djebel Shekh, which is situated on the confines of Palestine. We halted for a short time at Zebdany, and then pursued our course to a little village called Serai, where we passed the night. All the inhabitants are Mussulman, and as well as their neighbours at Zebdany derive their resources from the cultivation of cotton in the plain. We lodged at the house of one of them, who entertained us very hospitably. This was the first day that I had felt a really wintry air: there was a sharp frost accompanied by a chilling mist in the morning, and a piercing north wind met us as we rode along the narrow plain. The snow, however, was as yet only to be seen on the tops of some lofty and distant mountains.

December 15th.—At Serai we quitted the plain, and a gentle ascent led us to the edge of the mountain, from whence we had an extensive view of the vale of Bekaa and the chain of Lebanon beyond, with the snow scattered over its summits, and the village

of Zahlé on its side, glittering in the morning sun. In this part of the mountain we found a great number of grey partridges, which sprung up perpetually at our feet either separately or in coveys. The weather had quite changed since the preceding day; and though we were now on higher ground, the air was mild and balmy as in spring. A very gradual descent conducted us down the side of Antilibanus to Balbec, where we arrived at about three o'clock. The possession of this town, together with a large district which is attached to it, had long been disputed between two brothers of the Motouali tribe. One of them, the Emir Sultan, had lately obtained the investiture from the Pasha of Damascus; but his brother, who had still many adherents, had retired with a detachment of horsemen to the mountain, from whence he made excursions into the plain, plundering and ravaging without mercy. One of these attacks had just taken place; and the terrified inhabitants of Balbec had fled with their wives, children, and as much of their slender effects as they could carry with them, to seek protection from the Emir Beshir in Mount Lebanon. All the houses were shut up and deserted, and it was some time before we could find two or three straggling villagers, who, having nothing perhaps to lose, had preferred remaining behind. They viewed us at first with alarm; but finding out who we were, one of them conducted us to the house of the Catholic priest, which was deserted like the rest.

All that remained within it was a table, a high-backed chair (rather a singular piece of furniture in this country), an old missal, and a bottle of sweet wine. The doors were unlocked, the windows unbarred, and the half-consumed wood which remained on the hearth showed how suddenly it had been abandoned. Here we determined to fix our quarters, as it was by far the best house in the place; and as soon as we had taken possession we were visited by the few remaining residents in the town, all of whom, excepting two, were Christians. Among them was an ancient handmaiden of the priest, who on his flight had concealed herself in a neighbouring cottage, from which she now came forth, and undertook to dress for us a fowl and some rice which we procured, though not without difficulty.

The remainder of this and the whole of the following day I passed among the ruins, of which I will not attempt a detailed account. They are known to be among the finest remains of the Corinthian order now in existence; and the plates of Mr. Wood's splendid work may be considered as giving a faithful representation both of their original and their present state; except that since his visit in 1751 they have undergone some further dilapidations from wanton injury, and from the effects of an earthquake. They consist of three temples of different dimensions. The largest was approached by a flight of steps and a portico, which in later times has been turned into a fortress by the addition of

walls and towers. This opened into an hexagonal court, and this again into a square court of very large size, both of them surrounded by porticoes and exedræ, ornamented with columns and niches highly decorated. Of the temple itself only six columns are now standing*. Its substructions are remarkable for some of the largest masses of stone which are to be found, I believe, in any building known to exist, several of them being upwards of sixty feet in length. Just without the verge of the court is a smaller temple, in much better preservation, as the walls of the cella, with most of their internal decorations, and nearly twenty columns of the peristyle, are standing. A part of the cieling also of the peristyle remains, and is of exquisite beauty. The portico of this temple, like that which opens into the great court, has been converted at some period into a fortress, and has wholly lost its original form, being incumbered with walls and surmounted with towers.

At some distance from the other remains there is a circular temple, of the Corinthian order also, which has been converted into a church. An earthquake has curiously displaced a great many of the stones with which it is constructed, but no part has fallen except the vaulted roof.

December 17th.—Early in the morning we left Balbec; and as the country was infested by the strolling bands of the revolted Shekh, we thought

* In Wood's time there were nine.

it prudent to engage two armed peasants to attend us for the first part of our way. A long but gentle ascent in a north-eastern direction carried us once more to the exposed and open downs of Antilibanus. After riding for several hours without seeing either a village or an inhabitant, we approached a chain of rocks which skirted the eastern side of this upland plain, and which appeared so steep as to form an insuperable barrier to our further progress. On reaching it we found that our road led through a fissure in the rock, on each side of which the cliffs rose to the height of more than a hundred feet, so perpendicularly as to admit only a glimmering of light from the top. This pass was about a quarter of a mile in length, nowhere wide enough for more than one person, and in one part so narrow that we were obliged to dismount and take the saddles off our horses to enable them to squeeze through. It was frequently interrupted by fragments of stone which had fallen from above, and the dripping from the cliffs kept up a continual water-course along its bed. This natural curiosity is reported by the inhabitants to have had a supernatural origin. The rock is said to have opened miraculously, to afford a passage for St. Thecla when she was flying from her infidel pursuers; and some traces which remain of an ancient aqueduct are pointed out as marks imprinted by her floating tresses as she ran swiftly along:

"Et levis impexos retro dabat aura capillos."

The lower end of the pass opens into a narrow valley, and an easy descent of about an hour brought us to Maloula, after a ride of ten hours from Balbec; during which, except at a miserable little village in the mountain, called Jubbah, we had not seen any traces of a human being.

At Maloula Contessini conducted me to the house of the Shekh of the village, with whom he was acquainted. We found him suffering under the effects of an ague; but he raised himself up from the bed where he was lying, and which was screened by a curtain only from the outer apartment, and very kindly bade us welcome. His wife, with that cheerful hospitality which characterizes even the poorer classes in these countries, immediately set about preparing our supper; and after we had waited rather longer than in the present state of our appetite we could have wished, she set before us a very excellent chicken pillaff, and a large pitcher of wine made from honey, not disagreeable in flavour, but extremely powerful in its effects.

The inhabitants of Maloula, as well as of several other villages on the eastern slope of Antilibanus, are of a distinct race. They are almost exclusively Christian (only one Mahometan residing in the village), and their language is supposed to be the ancient Syrian. It is extremely corrupted, however, and intermixed with many Arabic words, slightly altered in their termination. It appeared to me to be much softer and less guttural than the pure

Arabic. The people are all of the Greek church, but are nearly equally divided into the contending sects of Catholics and Schismatics, each of which has its church and convent. The two parties live on tolerably good terms with one another, neither possessing any exclusive privileges; but once or twice a-year there is a sort of amicable contest between them. Men, women, and children assemble on the opposite hills, on each side of the valley in which the village is situated, one or both parties being sometimes reinforced by detachments of their friends from Damascus. As soon as they are thus placed in array against each other the conflict begins. Fire-works of all kinds, which the rude pyrotechny of the country can supply, are discharged; large branches of trees are sent flaming from the opposite crags into the valley below, and an incessant firing of guns and pistols is kept up for several hours, amid the shouts of the multitude. That party which makes the greatest display comes off victorious; and, according to the number of squibs, crackers, and fire-brands collected by their respective adherents, the pope or the patriarch is held to be triumphant. The mode of controversy practised by these rustic theologians may perhaps excite a smile; but it is at least as humane, if not as rational, for them to burn wood and gunpowder in honour of their respective creeds, as to burn one another.

On the morning after our arrival, Contessini's

horse fell ill. He refused all food: and when we attempted to lead him out of the stable or shed where he had passed the night, we found him completely stiff in all his joints and scarcely able to move. As this attack was evidently caused by cold and fatigue, I recommended immediate warm clothing and friction of the limbs; but my suggestions were not for a moment attended to. Both the owner of the horse and the village farriers who were called in, decided at once that the calamity must have been occasioned by the "evil eye," and could only be removed by some counter-spell. The charm which they had recourse to reminded me of antiquity:

"Sparge molam, et fragiles incende bitumine lauros."

In a small chafing-dish they put a mixture of flour, salt, and dried olive-leaves, set fire to them, and carried them while burning three times round the animal, walking with a measured step. The cure was not so immediate as was expected: but the next day, probably from rest or an effort of nature, the disorder was materially diminished; and the belief in the efficacy of the remedy proportionately confirmed.

The village of Maloula is placed in a very picturesque situation, some of the houses being built on terraces one above the other, and some perched singly among craggy and abrupt rocks. The banks of the stream below are thickly set with planes, poplars, and other trees; and the mountain is very

steep on the opposite side. A number of small tombs are excavated in it; and I observed two niches, each containing a mutilated statue, over one of which was an inscription quite illegible.

At the head of the valley, and just before entering the remarkable passage which I have already mentioned, a steep path carried us up to the convent of St. Thecla, which is placed on the brow of a projecting rock, with a precipice below and a high perpendicular cliff above it. This saint is held in especial veneration by the Greek church. Her shrine is in a grotto, which we approached through a corridor cut in the rock; and close to it is a well, the water of which is supposed to possess extraordinary and supernatural efficacy in the cure of wounds, diseases, and even madness. The convent is in the hands of the Schismatics. It is small, and was now inhabited by one friar only, who received us very cordially, and set before us the simple refreshments which it afforded. These consisted of eggs, nuts, and wild honey; the latter is collected among the surrounding cliffs, and is of very exquisite flavour.

On leaving this convent we descended again into the valley, and entered the cleft in the rock through which we had come the preceding evening, and which was now nearly closed up by a large stone having fallen from the cliffs above during the night. We had reason to congratulate ourselves that it did not fall a few hours sooner, or we should have been

utterly unable to pass through with our horses. These accidents are of frequent occurrence; and whenever they happen, the villagers are all obliged to set to work and open the communication as soon as possible; for should a Turkish courier happen to be detained on his passage, it would afford a very favourable pretext for an Avaniah*.

The upper end of this pass opened on a high down commanding a fine view down the valley, and covered with a beautiful turf broken at intervals by rocks projecting a few feet above the surface. Most of these had been hewn out into sepulchres, and in one of them I found a Greek inscription tolerably preserved. They have now changed their destination, and are almost all occupied by the wine-presses of the villagers:—the spirit of a Bacchanalian might be consoled for the violation of his tomb by the thought of its being employed for such a purpose.

At the edge of the down, and just above the village, is the Greek Catholic convent, a large substantial building, which was now occupied by two ecclesiastics and a lay brother. We halted there, and were introduced to the president, whom we found sitting in a room filled with books and writings, the former chiefly the religious and devotional productions which issue from the presses of Mount Lebanon. He invited us to stay supper, and in the meantime coffee, pipes, and a dessert of

* A fine or contribution.

dried fruits were handed round. At sunset prayers were announced by the ringing of a bell; and after drinking a small glass of aqua vitæ by way of preparation, we repaired to the chapel, an old vaulted building, whose large dimensions and numerous stalls indicated the former importance of the convent. On the walls there were some tolerable pictures in the Greek style, without any relief, and copiously ornamented with gilding. The ceremony was not of the most imposing character. The prayers were muttered over by the junior priest with extraordinary rapidity, while a ragged boy, who held the light, kept grinning during the whole performance. After leaving the chapel another glass of aqua vitæ was handed round, and we then sat down to supper. Each person had a dish of boiled rice placed before him, together with a small plate of very savoury stewed fowl. A dish of *kubbah**, and another of kabob succeeded; and the wine, which was of tolerably good quality, was circulated very freely. Whenever the cup came round to Padre Demetrio, one of the friars, he prefaced his copious draught by a verse of an Arabic hymn in praise of the Virgin, which he sung in the usual style of the country, with a constant effort to strain his voice to the highest and sharpest pitch. Some of the airs were wild and plaintive, and the subject did

* Kubbah is the staple article of food in this part of Syria: it is composed of rice, chopped meat, and other ingredients, formed into large round balls, and boiled.

not appear to be thought at all unsuitable to the occasion.

About two hours after sunset we took leave of our good-natured hosts, and the lay brother conducted us by the light of an immense firebrand down a steep craggy path to the village. Our labours, however, were not yet ended. The Shekh, not knowing that we should be detained at the convent, had provided a large supper against our return; and though the greater part of the day had already been spent in eating and drinking, ceremony compelled me to partake of it even at the risk of indigestion. In travelling in these countries the change is often so sudden, from great fatigue to perfect rest, and from extreme abstinence to extreme repletion, that it requires some strength of constitution to bear it without inconvenience.

December 19th.—I had intended to set out on my return to Damascus; but during the night there was so heavy a fall of snow that it was impossible to stir, and I was obliged to pass this and the following day in the cottage, talking broken Arabic with the women and children, while the poor Shekh lay in his bed in the corner of the room, groaning from time to time most piteously.

December 21st.—I was so thoroughly weary of my present situation, that although the weather still continued unfavourable, I was determined at all events to return to Damascus; but soon after we set out, a violent storm of driving rain intermixed

with sleet and snow, came on, and at length compelled us to halt at Sidnaia, another Syrian village, situated lower down in the mountain, but still much elevated above the plain. The Greek priest to whom we were directed was absent from home, but his wife and sister, who were left in charge of his house, received us with great kindness; and I determined to remain there till the following morning, when the inclemency of the weather might in some degree have abated. At Sidnaia there is a very ancient Greek convent, and a Roman tomb extremely well preserved, but without any inscription.

December 22nd.—The day was lowering and threatened rain, but only a few light showers fell. At about two hours from Sidnaia we came to a stream whose course we followed down a pleasant valley, which opened on the plain of Damascus; and about three o'clock I arrived at the convent, fully prepared to enjoy an interval of repose, after the fatigue of this excursion.

December 25th.—I attended high mass in the conventual church, which was thronged with men, women, and children. The service was performed by the Superior, Padre Francesco, in the Arabic language, and in a very impressive manner. Rather an odd effect was produced by the Psalms being set to waltz tunes; but the only instrument the friars possessed was a barrel-organ, which was not capable of playing any other. The lessons were given in Arabic by a younger priest, who seemed to suffer

extreme embarrassment in reading that most difficult language, the true pronunciation of which has scarcely ever been attained by an European. Shekh Ibrahim is almost the only traveller on record who succeeded in passing for a native; and of the twenty or thirty ecclesiastics who were now studying at Damascus, I was told that there were not more than two or three who had arrived at any proficiency. In addition to the guttural sounds which appear to be scarcely attainable by a foreigner, the number of terms, which with the slightest variation of accent have totally different significations, is so great, as almost to countenance the remark which I once heard made by an ingenious traveller, that "in Arabic any word may mean any thing."

CHAPTER XIV.

PALMYRA.

One of the first questions that I asked on my arrival at Damascus was, "Can I go to Palmyra?" But as the journey had been reported to be dangerous, if not impracticable, in consequence of a serious affray which had happened the year before between a party of Englishmen* and some Arabs whom they employed as guides, I was prepared to receive an answer in the negative. I found, however, to my great satisfaction, that I had arrived at a favourable moment, and that there was now at Damascus a shekh of the tribe of Melhem, one of the most powerful of the Anazee Bedouins, who would be able to secure me a safe passage through the desert. He had just returned with the pilgrims whom he had been employed to escort to Mecca, and was waiting to receive the reward of his services from the Government.

I immediately paid him a visit; and after several interviews it was agreed that when he left Damascus to go to his tents, which were now pitched near the banks of the Euphrates, I should accompany him as far as our roads lay together, and that afterwards he should provide me with a proper escort to con-

* Mr. David Baillie, Mr. Wyse, &c.

duct me to Palmyra, or Tadmor, as he called it, and back again to Damascus.

Shekh Nasr was a handsome man, of about twenty-eight years of age, with a quick penetrating eye, olive complexion, and a profusion of raven curls hanging round his face. His figure was diminutive; and his dress a mixture of the Bedouin and the Turkish, his striped mashlakh and sheepskin pelisse being thrown over a rich silk *antari*, and his *keiffĕh* bound round his head with a muslin turban, instead of the camel's hair cord generally used by the Arabs.

Soon after my return from Maloula I paid him another visit, and found him sitting in an open divan surrounded by his people, and warming himself over a chafing-dish of hot coals. He complained of the chilliness of the air in Damascus, and of the delays and difficulties which had been thrown in the way of his receiving payment for his services in escorting the caravan, and which had prevented his returning sooner to the warmer climate of the desert. His followers too, he said, had become quite impatient; and though much better fed and lodged in the city, they were sighing for the liberty of their native plains. His plan was also changed since I before saw him; as he had engaged to convey a rich Turkish pilgrim across the desert to Bagdad, and would be obliged to take a different route from that which he at first proposed. In consequence of this arrangement we should not be able to travel far together, but he

would appoint a relation of his own to accompany me; and as the desert was now in perfect tranquillity, a single horseman of the tribe of Melhem would be sufficient to insure me protection and a hospitable reception at the villages through which we might have to pass. The right claimed by the Bedouins of exacting a tribute from those who pass through their territories, has of late years been so generally conceded by travellers of all nations, and especially by the English, that it may now be considered as established; and any daring wanderer who should venture into the desert without their sanction, would probably have reason to repent his temerity. The sum stipulated to be paid in the present instance was a thousand piastres, or about thirty pounds sterling; which was to include all the expenses on the road, except a *bacsheesh* of fifty piastres, to be given to the guide, provided I was satisfied with his behaviour. The agreement was to be registered at the office of the Pasha's treasurer; and the Government, as well as the shekh, was thus to be made responsible for its due performance. Accordingly, the day after this interview, I repaired to the seraglio, signed a document which had before been signed by the shekh's agent, and placed it in the hands of the Jewish Saraff Salomone.

One difficulty still remained to be overcome, the payment of the money; as, in consequence of repeated delays, my remittances were not yet arrived from Acre. The friendly Prior Francesco, however,

accommodated me with the thousand piastres, which I carried in the evening to the shekh. I found him seated as before, surrounded by his followers; but his countenance appeared to be overcast, and to have a more serious expression than usual. On inquiring the cause, I found that he had that morning received intelligence of the death of his mother; and I desired my interpreter to express to him my sorrow and condolence at his loss. He bowed solemnly, and replied with the resignation of a true Musulman: "God's will be done, he disposes of his creatures as he pleases; it is he who creates us, and he who causes us to die."

Fresh delays interposed, and it was not till the month of January, ten days after this final arrangement, that we set out from Damascus. My Dragoman Georgio being still an invalid, I again engaged Giambattista Contessini, who had the recommendation of having twice before made the journey to Palmyra.

We set out in the afternoon, intending to join the caravan, which had already gone forward, and was to halt for the night at a little village about three hours from the city, in order to collect the travellers and baggage. On arriving there, however, we found that the shekh, instead of stopping as we expected, had advanced three hours' march further towards the desert; and as it was now too late to overtake him, I was obliged to pass the night in a small smoky chamber in an Arab cottage. At noon

the next day we reached the camp, which presented a scene of great bustle and activity. Camels, horses, men, and baggage were crowded together, and groups of persons were flocking in from Damascus and the neighbouring villages, some to take leave of their friends, and some to proceed on their journey. A knot of very handsome green tents, placed at a little distance from the others, distinguished the quarter of Hadgi Osman, the wealthy Turk of Bagdad; and several white and black slaves were stationed round to protect the women, who were attached to his suite, from the intrusion of the multitude. I repaired immediately to Shekh Nasr's tent. He received me very politely, and placed me beside him. Contessini, who assumed the name of Khalil for this expedition, took his seat by me. The tent was filled with people, some sitting, some standing, and all engaged in very animated conversation. Some merchants were anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity now afforded them for conveying their goods across the desert to Bagdad much more rapidly than by the ordinary caravans; but they could not agree with the shekh as to the sum to be paid him for his camels and escort. I now clearly saw the reason why the latter, instead of halting as he proposed at the first village, had pushed on as far as a day's march could carry him. The persons who had brought their merchandise to such a distance would of course be extremely unwilling to take it back again, and here

on the borders of his native desert the cunning Bedouin might prescribe to them what terms he pleased. Accordingly he left the settlement of the affair to a Christian agent, whom he had brought with him from Damascus, and sat quietly with his pipe in his mouth, making only an occasional short remark, and completely unmoved by the remonstrances of the merchants, though they were enforced by every variety of tone and gesture. In the intervals of business he seemed pleased to enter into conversation; and I found him possessed of more curiosity and activity of mind than I should have expected. He had a tolerable notion of the general outline of European politics, and was very desirous to acquire some knowledge of geography. At his request I drew out for him a rough map of the world, which he quickly comprehended, and begged that when I returned to Europe I would send him one on a large scale. He talked much of Lady Hester Stanhope, and said that if I had brought a letter of introduction from her, he would have sent me to Tadmor free of expense*. He professed great attachment to the English, whom he seemed to consider almost equal in prowess and consequence to his own nation. "What the Bedouins are in the desert," said he, "the English are on the sea." Unlike his countrymen in general,

* This probably was an Oriental figure of speech; but I believe Lady Hester had considerable influence among the Bedouins, and kept some of them in constant pay.

who are not very regular in their religious exercises, he seemed anxious to show, by the punctuality of his devotions, the good effects which had been produced by his late pilgrimage. At each stated hour of the *Namaz**, the slaves spread a carpet at the door of the tent, where his ablutions and prayers were performed with an almost ostentatious precision.

But one meal was served during the day, and that was a very frugal one, consisting only of a large bowl of simple rice pillaff, into which, after the Arab fashion, each one of the guests dipped his hand. I had sympathized so little with this custom on former occasions, that before setting out on the present journey I had desired permission to carry a spoon with me. Nasr, however, objected, saying that the Bedouins did not like to see the customs of the Osmanli introduced into their tents. The meagre fare to which we were obliged to submit, was in some degree compensated by a profusion of excellent coffee, which was handed round whenever a fresh visitor came into the tent. This happened every quarter of an hour; and as it would have been thought unpolite to refuse, I drank nearly twenty cups between noon and bed-time. At about eleven o'clock the tent was cleared, and the slaves brought in a comfortable mattress and pillow for the shekh; but as I was without these accommodations, I could only muffle myself in my cloak, lie down on the ground, and bear patiently the cold of the night,

* The five daily prayers prescribed to the Mahometans.

which for this climate happened to be unusually severe.

January 8th.—The tent was filled at an early hour, and the question as to the hire of the camels was again renewed with as much warmth as on the previous day. As I knew the pertinacity with which an Oriental will carry on a dispute even for the smallest sum of money; and as Nasr's board and lodging had not given me any strong desire to pass another day with him, I determined to leave the caravan; and as soon as opportunity offered, I requested him to appoint me the promised attendant for the rest of the journey. With this request he immediately complied, expressing at the same time his regret that I would not accompany him any further; and begging that if satisfied with my guide, I would increase the promised *bacsheesh* to a hundred piastres, which I engaged to do. The Bedouin appointed for the service soon made his appearance, mounted on a fine grey mare. His name was Debbeh; he was a strong raw-boned man, considerably above six feet high, extremely thin; and when leaning on his spear, he looked, if possible, more like Don Quixote than my former Bedouin attendant, Mahomet Daoudy. On leaving the camp, we repaired immediately to a village about a mile distant, and went to a house belonging to an acquaintance of our guide, where the good wife prepared us a sweet omelette, which, after the meagre pillaff of the preceding day was very acceptable.

The common dress of the Bedouins consists, as I have before said, of merely a coarse long shirt, fastened round the middle with a leathern girdle, and a flowing cloak called a mashlakh thrown over it. Those lower parts of dress, which with us are thought indispensable, especially for equestrian performances, are among them little used, except by the women*. In contemplation, however, of the long journey which lay before him, Debbeh thought it expedient to equip himself at the village with a pair of *shirwalls* or trousers, for which he begged me to pay, in anticipation of his *bacsheesh;* and this trifling circumstance, which I should not otherwise have mentioned, was the source of much quarrelling and contention during our journey. After about four hours' ride we reached Derout, a large village surrounded by cultivated grounds, where we lodged at the house of an old shekh, supped upon a dish of rice and lentils; and as usual, were visited in the evening by half the population of the place.

January 9th. — Our route lay along a plain which stretched out between two ranges of sandy hills, about fifteen miles distant from each other, and extending to the Eastward as far as the eye could reach. With the exception of a few patches in the immediate neighbourhood of the village, the land was entirely uncultivated; and as we ad-

* Another instance of the direct opposition which exists between European and Oriental customs.

vanced, it assumed gradually more and more of the parched and barren hue of the desert. At a little distance from Derout we fell in with three horsemen, who had been to take leave of some of their friends who were going with the caravan ; and one of them, a green turbaned Musulman, invited us to his house at Cariateen, the village where we were to halt for the night, and which we did not reach till it was quite dark, after a weary ride of ten hours over a flat uninteresting plain. I found the house of our friend the sheriff*, small, dirty, and loathsome ; one room with an earthen floor served for lodging the whole party ; and there was a coarse and half-ferocious look about our host which I did not much admire. The next morning when I walked out, I found so many better houses in the place, that I was vexed with Debbeh for having brought me into such indifferent quarters, and began to suspect that he might have had some secret motives for doing so.

We remained at Cariateen all the next day. It is a large village, containing, as we were told, a population of 1500 to 2000, composed of nearly equal numbers of Christian and Musulman inhabitants, who live together in great harmony. Being on the edge of the desert, it is a place of great resort for the Bedouins, who sometimes come as friends, and sometimes as enemies.

* The descendants, or reputed descendants, of the Prophet wear a green turban, and are distinguished by the title of " Sheriff" or noble.

Jan. 10th.—This being the last place on our route till we should reach Palmyra, it was necessary to supply ourselves with some provisions and water. The former we procured at the house of a Christian in the village; and for carrying the latter we purchased three goat-skins, which were to be attached to our horses. In the midst, however, of these preparations, to my great surprise Debbeh refused to proceed any further unless he received his *karahm*, as he called it, the Arabic term for *bacsheesh*. I desired Contessini to remonstrate with him on the impropriety of this demand; as the stipulated sum of one hundred piastres was not to be paid till the end of his journey, nor then unless I was satisfied with his conduct; and he had already anticipated a part of it for the purchase of the *shirwalls* at his first starting. At this unfortunate mention of the *shirwalls*, the Arab flew into a violent passion; asked whether we thought he could make a forced march of ten days without such appendages, and declared that he considered them as a present from the English Bey, and that he would have the whole of the *karahm* before he stirred a step further. Contessini appealed to the group of people who were sitting smoking their pipes round the embers of the fire, whether it was just that Debbeh should be paid until he had performed his part of the contract; and I now saw clearly that it was in preparation for a dispute of this sort that our guide had brought us to a house where he was

surrounded by persons of his own faith, who though they did not openly declare that he had a right to his demand, yet gave a sort of implied approbation of his claim by sundry significant shrugs, growls, and *mashallahs*, well known to all who have travelled among them. I had seen enough of these people to know that too ready a compliance with their demands is construed into a sign of fear or weakness, and leads only to further exactions. I therefore determined to resist in the first instance, and told Debbeh that I would pay him only the half of his *bacsheesh*, deducting the price of the *shirwalls*. Contessini accordingly gave him two sequins, which, with much real or affected indignation, he instantly threw into the fire. I took no notice of this stage trick; and soon afterwards our host walked out, and beckoned to the guide to follow him. They remained in conversation about a quarter of an hour, and on their return I found that my apparent indifference had produced the desired effect. Debbeh acknowledged himself to have been in the wrong, pocketed the two sequins, which one of his friends had rescued from the fate to which he had consigned them, and agreed to set out immediately. The dispute being thus adjusted, about three o'clock we left Cariateen; and on clearing the enclosures around it, found ourselves again in the plain, which was now without the slightest appearance of verdure. It was partially covered with the withered leaves of the kelp plant, which

grows close to the ground, and resembles it so much in colour, that it does not in the least diminish the appearance of barrenness and desolation.

This evening I had an opportunity of observing an instance of the extraordinary quickness of vision for which the Bedouins, as well as other uncivilized nations, are remarkable. As we were riding along, Debbeh suddenly turned round to me with a look of great animation, pointed to some distant object, which I could not perceive, and with the usual exclamation of "Yullah, Yullah," struck the stirrups against the sides of his mare, and darted forward at a brisk gallop. He had already proceeded several hundred yards when I saw start up a long way before him an animal so small, and so nearly approaching to the colour of the ground, that I could scarcely distinguish it while running, although his keen eye had discovered it sitting at the distance of nearly half a mile. The rapid bounds of his Arab mare soon brought him up with the object of his pursuit, and he was several times near enough to strike at it with his lance; but the animal each time eluded the blow, and by a sharp turn threw its pursuer to a distance, till at last it succeeded in creeping into a burrow, full a mile from the place where it started. No course was ever better contested. The little animal, which was of the Jerboa tribe, though not so swift as a hare, yet turned and doubled with as much quickness; and the mare, assisted by the admirable horsemanship

of the rider, wheeled with all the suppleness of a greyhound. I could only observe this novel chase from a distance, as my horse was too much encumbered with water-skins to allow me to join it. I came up just at the conclusion, and found both Debbeh and the mare panting and exhausted with the violence of the exertion. After giving them a little time to recruit, we rode on till it was dark, when we halted for a few minutes to eat our supper; and then proceeded, guiding our course by the stars, which fortunately shone very brightly. At about an hour after midnight we again halted, tethered our horses, and lay down to sleep in the sand. The night was not very cold, but the dew fell so heavily, that though I did not remain asleep for more than three hours, when I arose it had penetrated quite through my mashlakh, and I could literally wring out the sheepskin pelisse which I wore under it.

Jan. 11th.—Our route still continued at nearly an equal distance from two ranges of mountains which bounded the plain on our right and left, gently converging, and appearing at last to unite and to form a barrier in front of us. A narrow defile led us through them; and as it opened into the plain on the other side, the magnificent ruins of Palmyra gradually displayed themselves. We soon reached the tombs, which we passed close on our right hand; while stretched out on our left was a countless forest of columns, over which the last

rays of the winter sun threw a red and melancholy gleam.

Since we left Cariateen our horses had only had a little barley mixed with chaff to eat, and about two quarts of water each to drink, but they did not show any signs of fatigue. They now snuffed the warm springs, and carried us thither without any guiding. We let them quaff their fill, as the moderate temperature of the water permitted them to do so without danger. When first taken from the spring this water has a sulphureous smell and taste, which goes off in a great degree after it has stood some time. The inhabitants have no other to use; and what remains after they are supplied, is not more than sufficient to irrigate some small gardens, where there are a few stunted date-trees. At about half a mile from the spring we passed under a lofty Saracenic tower, ingrafted on an ancient gateway, and found ourselves in the court of the great Temple of the Sun, whose large area is only in part occupied by the modern town. We halted at the house of the Shekh Derwish, the principal person in the place. He was a fine-looking young man, but had rather a ferocious and insolent aspect, and I thought that he received us with an unwilling hospitality. From the time of our leaving Cariateen till our arrival at Palmyra was exactly twenty-seven hours, of which twenty-three had been passed on horseback; and I had also had a violent fall in consequence of the girths giving

way,—a frequent accident with Turkish and Arab saddles. I therefore felt much fatigued, and would gladly have lain down to sleep immediately after supper, but the Manzoul was filled with Bedouins and natives, who kept up an incessant conversation till midnight.

January 12th.—In the morning I was awakened by a loud talking, and found Contessini and Shekh Derwish engaged in a warm dispute. I did not augur any good from the surly and dissatisfied looks of the shekh on the preceding evening; but as I knew that almost all the travellers who had visited Palmyra had been exposed to difficulties and affronts, I had made up my mind to submit to the common destiny, feeling confident that under the protection of Shekh Nasr I had no very serious danger to apprehend. When I inquired the grounds of the present quarrel, Derwish replied with great warmth, that it was unjust that Nasr and his Bedouins should impose a tribute, and draw an almost annual revenue from strangers who came to Tadmor, while the inhabitants themselves, the natural guardians of the antiquities, derived no benefit from their visits, but on the contrary were obliged to provide entertainment for another's guests. "The hospitality of the Arabs," continued he, "forbids me to show any incivility to strangers; you are welcome to remain in my house, and to eat with me for as long as you please; but I will not allow you to go out to visit the curiosities of

the place, unless you pay me the same sum which you have paid to Nasr." Having said this, he strode away with a haughty glance, leaving the Manzoul to myself, Contessini, and Debbeh. I was rather afraid that the latter might take this opportunity of showing his resentment for my having refused to give him his *karahm* at Cariateen; and I even suspected that the whole of this explosion might be a concerted trick between him and Derwish, in order to be revenged upon me: but I soon found that my suspicions were unjust, and that Debbeh would not forfeit the character for fidelity, which is the chief pride of his nation. After some consultation as to the course to be pursued, we determined to appear perfectly unconcerned, to defy the shekh to do his worst, and to make no promise of *bacsheesh:* and having thus decided, we lighted our pipes and patiently awaited the event. In about an hour the shekh returned, accompanied by several old men; and Contessini thus addressed him: "Shekh Derwish, Masalami, (I salute you,) you have threatened to detain prisoners in your house, so long as they remain at Tadmor, this Englishman and his attendants, who have come hither on the faith of the Bedouin chief who is your ally, and of the governor of Damascus who is the vizier of your king at Stambouli. You durst not do us any harm, because that would be an act of rebellion; neither durst you detain us here longer than we like, because the days of our

absence are counted at the Seraglio of Damascus. But you may, it is true, prevent this Englishman from seeing the tombs of his ancestors*, to visit which he has made a long and expensive pilgrimage. Do so—Blindfold him, and carry him to what distance you please from your town:—the tents of the tribe of Melhem are but two days' journey to the eastward towards the great river; we are accustomed to the fatigue of travelling, and our guide knows the wells and resting-places: thither he will conduct us, and our friend Nasr will send us back in such a way that we shall no longer have need to ask your permission to see what we desire." The assembled elders showed by their countenances that the address had produced an effect upon them; and at the conclusion Debbeh took the pipe from his mouth, and said emphatically, "Wullah,—Khalil has spoken well." Shekh Derwish maintained a sulky silence; but one of his friends replied for him, that he had no intention of affronting either the governor of Damascus or the tribe of Melhem; still less did he wish to disoblige me, the English being all his friends, and especially† "the daughter of the king," who had been a great benefactress to the town of Tadmor;—but that

* It is a common belief among the Arabs, that the English consider themselves to be originally sprung from this country, and for that reason are so desirous to visit it.

† Bint el Sultan, "the king's daughter," the name by which Lady Hester Stanhope is generally known among the Arabs.

he had been overcome by indignation that those who resided on the spot should not have the benefit of showing the curiosities: However, nothing more should be said; we were at liberty to remain as long as we wished, and to go in and go out when we pleased: but he hoped that we would not mention what had happened at Damascus, nor think it unreasonable if he looked for a present at our departure.—I replied, that if the Pasha should question us on our return as to the reception we had met with, we must tell him the truth; and that as to a present, having paid Nasr so large a sum, I did not expect to be called upon from any other quarter.

But though I thought proper in the first instance to make this answer, I could not help feeling in some degree the justice of Shekh Derwish's remonstrances, and some compassion for the poor inhabitants of Tadmor, who are not only obliged to pay the regular Miri or land-tax to the government, in return for which they receive no protection, but are forced to purchase by a heavy tribute the forbearance of the wandering Bedouins. Nasr alone, received a yearly present of twenty purses, or about three hundred pounds; and the other tribes, who occasionally pitch their tents in the neighbourhood, must also be propitiated. In addition to this, many of the Bedouins claim a right of demanding a private tribute from particular individuals. One of them whom I saw at the Manzoul

told me that he possessed three houses in the town; by which he meant that there were three families upon whom he levied contributions, either in money, provisions, or forage.

But notwithstanding these exactions, the inhabitants of Tadmor are neither poor nor miserable: on the contrary, they appeared to possess a great share of gaiety and frankness in their manners; and some of the women, (who do not here conceal their persons so scrupulously as in the larger cities,) I thought very pretty. Their dress consists of a simple blue vest; their black hair is combed straight over their forehead, and they wear a ring as large as the rim of a tea-cup through their right nostril.

The people of Tadmor derive their revenue partly from the manufacture of salt, of which there are some large pits near the town, and partly from the vegetable alkali which they prepare from the kelp of the Desert. These products are conveyed by caravans to Homs, where they are delivered into the storehouses of the Pasha, who has the monopoly of them, and who sells them at a vast profit to the merchants of Aleppo, Damascus, and the coast of Syria.

Shekh Derwish was esteemed a wealthy man. He possessed several slaves, and had three wives, whose beauty was highly spoken of by his neighbours. After our dispute he confined himself chiefly to his harem, and we saw but little of him. When-

ever he made his appearance he was very polite in his behaviour; but I could have wished that his table had been rather better supplied, as breakfast, dinner, and supper alike consisted of thin cakes of bread, and dates fried in oil,—a dish which is extremely popular in the towns bordering on the Desert, but to which I could never reconcile myself.

The buildings at Palmyra appear to have been all nearly contemporary; but the obscurity which envelops the history of that remarkable city makes it impossible to fix exactly the time of their erection. Judging from the style of the architecture and ornaments, we may pronounce them of later date than the temples at Balbec, which are generally supposed to have been built during the reign of the Antonines; and there are several indications of the decline of taste which soon followed that period. They are almost exclusively Corinthian, and are among the most florid and highly decorated specimens of the order.

The most remarkable ruin is the great Temple of the Sun, with its court. The latter is a square of about two hundred yards, surrounded by walls, of which considerable portions remain, and which were ornamented on the outside by alternate niches and pilasters. A peristyle runs round the inside of the court, consisting of a double row of columns, many of which are still standing. The portico, which was at the western side, has been almost wholly de-

stroyed, and the entrance is now through a massive Turkish tower, which has been erected on its ruins. The temple itself stands in the centre of the court, and is seen towering above it from all directions. It had a peristyle of forty-one fluted columns, eight of which only are now standing with their capitals and entablature remaining, but very much mutilated. The entrance was on the western side. At the southern end of the cella are two Ionic pilasters, and at the northern end two of the Corinthian order, and the wall is pierced with windows. The greater part of the cella has been converted into a mosque. The vaulted roof is highly ornamented, and tolerably perfect, but it is very inferior in design and execution to the roof of the peristyle at Balbec.

On leaving the court of the temple we passed on the left a ruinous mosque, and inclining to the northward arrived at an arch supported by square piers enriched with sculptured leaves, flowers, and acorns in bas-relief, and flanked by two smaller arches. The sculpture is coarse, and the centre arch is now much dilapidated; the key-stone having given way since 1751, when Wood saw it. Through this arch we entered the avenue of columns, which is one principal feature of the ruins, and which extended for nearly three-quarters of a mile in a north-western direction towards the mountains. Similar avenues branched off from it in different directions, and at about midway of its length an

arch opened upon another set of columns arranged, like those at Jerash, in form of a circus, of which only five or six are now standing. At the further extremity next the mountains, the avenue is terminated by six columns and a pediment, the remains of the portico of a sepulchral building, the interior of which is wholly ruinous.

The only other buildings within the walls, of which any considerable portions remain standing, are a tetrastyle temple on the northern side of the great avenue, a building with a circular end near the foot of the mountains, and some small tombs; but the whole of the space which they surround in their circuit of nearly three miles, is thickly set with columns and doorways, still standing, and the ground is strewed with prostrate shafts, capitals, and cornices.

The great Temple of the Sun, with its court and portico, must, when perfect, have been a magnificent pile of building; but the other remains are remarkable rather for their number, and for the great extent of ground which they occupy, than for their grandeur. The columns, except two or three which still tower above their companions, and some others which are thrown down, are not more than from twenty-five to thirty feet high, and many of them are of even smaller dimensions. Almost all have the peculiarity of a projection or bracket (probably for the support of a statue), at about one-third the height of the shaft.

Of the remains without the walls, the most remarkable are the tombs which I have before mentioned, on the sides of the defile in the mountain through which the city is approached from the west. They are lofty towers divided into five stories, each of the chambers being about twelve feet by eight, and containing five or six tiers of repositories for bodies. On several there are inscriptions both in Greek and in the enchorial Palmyrene character.

On the highest point of the mountain there is a large castle, built, according to tradition by one of the Emirs of the Druses. It commands a view to the westward as far as the peaks of Mount Lebanon, and to the eastward over the whole extent of the ruins and the boundless desert beyond*.

January 15th.—I left Palmyra, but before my departure I made the shekh a present of seventy piastres, or about two pounds; with which he was so well satisfied, that he condescended to hold the stirrup while I mounted. As I had understood that some merchants were going from the desert to Homs, I determined to pass the night at their encampment, which I reached about sun-set, after three hours' ride.

A caravan presents in the evening a very active and cheerful scene. The camels, which had been

* For further details of the ruins of Palmyra, see Wood;—whose engravings however, in some instances, give much too flattering a representation of them.

turned out to graze as soon as they had halted and been unloaded, now return in separate groups, each of which, following the bell of its leader, proceeds directly to the spot where its master's tents are pitched. When arrived there, the docile animals lie down of their own accord in a row, and their heads are attached by halters to a rope which is fastened to a range of stakes about four feet high, extending along the front of the camp. They are then fed with large balls composed of barley meal and lentils, mixed up with water, which they swallow whole, and are left to ruminate till morning. As soon as the night closes in, fires begin to blaze in every direction. They are made with dry thorns and stunted shrubs collected round the camp, and their flames throw a bright light on the different groups of travellers who are seen squatted on the ground in front of their tents, or beside their piles of merchandize, some occupied with their pipes and coffee, and others enjoying their frugal evening's meal. In an Oriental company, of whatever class it is composed, the harsh sounds of vulgar merriment are never to be heard; a low hum of conversation spreads through the camp, and as the evening advances, this gradually sinks into a silence, disturbed only by the occasional lowing of the camels. All those persons who have once tried it, and who understand the Eastern languages, speak of a caravan as a very agreeable mode of travelling. The wild and soli-

tary scenery through which it generally passes, the order and tranquillity with which it is conducted, the facility of conveying baggage, and the feeling of security which prevails,—amply compensate for the slowness of its movements; and among hundreds of persons collected from the most distant parts of the Turkish empire and the neighbouring states, many of whom have spent their lives in travelling, there is to be found a never-failing variety of associates and of anecdotes.

January 16th.—As we had a very long day's journey before us, we determined to set off two hours before the caravan. During the night there had been a very heavy dew, which was followed by a haze in the morning so thick that we could not see two yards before us. After riding for about an hour and a half, we were surprised at hearing voices at no great distance; and the mist dispersing a little, we perceived that we had been moving in a circle, and had again arrived at the encampment. It was now on the point of breaking up, and our re-appearance excited a little mirth at our expense. Having lost so much time at starting, we were obliged to push on with increased rapidity. We halted only for half an hour at noon, and frequently galloped our horses for several miles together. The day was so excessively hot, that we were glad to throw off our sheepskins and mashlakhs: and in the short interval of our absence, we observed that a considerable progress had taken place in ve-

getation. The grass had in many places sprung up several inches above the ground, the bushes were beginning to put forth a few buds, soon to be withered by the scorching heat of the sun; and now and then a hare skipped across our path, seeming to rejoice in the approach of spring. At about three o'clock we discovered the curling smoke of Cariateen; but distances in the Desert appear always less than they really are, and we did not arrive till two hours after sun-set.

At Palmyra we had met with a young Christian of Cariateen, who had invited us on our return to lodge at his house; and as we had no inclination to return to the miserable cottage of our former Turkish host, we gladly accepted his invitation. He had arrived at home before us, and we found a blazing hearth and a good pillaff, with a bowl of Leban prepared for our reception. His wife and his sister, who were both very pretty, were dressed out in their holiday-clothes to wait upon us; and his mother, a good-natured talkative old woman, sat alternately knitting and smoking in the chimney corner. Debbeh after supper retired to the house of his friend, and his place was supplied by an old Bedouin just arrived from the desert, who seated himself by the fire with the air of a man quite at home, and speedily dispatched the remains.

My understanding with Shekh Nasr had been, that in consideration of the sum paid to him, I was to be conveyed to Tadmor and back again without

any further expense; and I had therefore thought it most prudent to take with me a very small supply of money. It turned out on the contrary, that I had to pay for every thing I wanted on the road; and that at every place where I lodged, a *bacsheesh* was expected; and I consequently found on my return to Cariateen, that I was reduced to my last piastre. In this remote place there were no facilities for negociating bills, or raising money; and I had no expedient left but to dispatch a messenger to Damascus, and to reconcile myself as well as I could to the prospect of waiting three or four days for his return,—a weary interval to be passed at a place which offered not a single object of curiosity, and among people with whom I could only converse through the tiresome intervention of an interpreter. The great civility and attention of my hosts, however, rendered my confinement less irksome than it would have been, and several little incidents relieved in some degree the monotony of the perpetual pipe.

One evening a large party of the neighbours were collected together to listen to the stories of Contessini, who was not unskilled in this essential branch of a traveller's accomplishments, when we were suddenly disturbed by a violent noise in the streets. The loud shouts of men were heard, intermixed with the shrill voice of women; and as the clamour increased, all the company started up and rushed to the door, leaving me alone, and not with-

out some anxiety as to the cause of this sudden interruption. It was nearly half an hour before Contessini returned and informed me of the cause of the disturbance. The town it seemed was under a sort of republican form of government, the Pasha of Damascus leaving it to the shekhs and principal inhabitants to regulate among themselves the collection of the Miri, or land-tax. The ruling party had made a distribution of this impost, which was thought unequal; and those persons who considered themselves aggrieved repaired tumultuously to the divan, where the elders were assembled, to demand a revision of their decree. They were all armed; and being cheered on by the women, a serious affray was at first expected. It ended however without bloodshed; a capitulation was entered into, and the reformers returned to their houses with the promise of a more equitable division.

Another day, as I was taking my accustomed walk on the terraced roof of the house, I observed an unusual bustle in the streets; and on inquiry I found that some shepherds had just come hastily into the town, with a report that a party of hostile Bedouins was hovering about and preparing to make an attack. I soon saw the chivalry of Cariateen issuing from the gates in parties of ten or twenty each, amounting in all, perhaps, to three hundred horsemen, many of them well mounted, some armed with swords and lances, and some with fire-arms. As soon as they had cleared the enclo-

sures, they spread in skirmishing order over the plain, till they were lost to view behind some gentle hills at a little distance from the town, among which the enemy was supposed to be lying in ambush. They returned, however, in about two hours without having seen the hostile force, which perhaps existed only in the fears of the shepherds. Alarms of this kind are very frequent at Cariateen; for the inhabitants being more numerous and better mounted than those of Tadmor, and being placed nearer to the cultivated country, do not condescend to make terms with the Bedouins, but rely on their own means of resistance. The walled enclosures which surround the town add very much to its security, for the Bedouin will never leave his horse; and being unable to leap the walls, he is obliged to approach through long narrow avenues, where a few sharp-shooters may impede the passage of a very superior number of horsemen. The inhabitants, however, are in general desirous to keep on good terms with the wandering tribes; as they carry on an advantageous trade with them, taking their wool and goat's hair in exchange for barley, clothes, and other articles brought from Damascus.

As we approached the conclusion of our journey, Debbeh's thoughts began to run very much on his *bacsheesh;* and whenever he had an opportunity of being alone with me, he put on his most ingratiating looks, repeating continually the words "*Karahm**,

* The present! the present!—the English are good!

karahm,—Ingliz tayib," and the like. This insinuating manner, coupled with his magnanimous behaviour at Palmyra, had, he thought, so far overcome my displeasure at his former conduct, that having found in the magazines of our host at Cariateen a very handsome silk *antari,* which was to cost fifty piastres, he desired Contessini to request that I would give it him. "He had received," he said, "much larger presents from other English travellers; and how could he dare show himself at his tents without some such token of his good conduct, and of my generosity." The question of the *shirwalls,* however, had not yet been finally settled, and I was not at all disposed to grant this further request. In the evening, while smoking our pipes round the fire, he resumed the subject, complimenting me according to custom, and abusing the dragoman, to whom he thought his disappointment was to be attributed. Contessini, who on the contrary had taken his part in this instance, and had actually advised me to give him the dress, was very indignant at being thus unjustly attacked, and repelled his charge with great warmth. An angry parley ensued, and the Arab at last quite lost his temper. "Yah Nazaranni," he exclaimed with a contemptuous sneer; and in an instant Contessini started up, and drew his sword, and they both rushed out of the room followed by our host. The old grudge which existed between the Bedouin and the dragoman, and the extreme rage which the Eastern Christians

always feel at being called "Nazarene" by a Mahometan, might have made me uneasy as to the result of the encounter; but I knew that the wrath of an Oriental is more apt to vent itself in words than in blows, and I was not surprised to see both parties return unhurt in about a quarter of an hour. They were accompanied by the old Sheriff with whom we had formerly lodged, and by several other neighbours, both Mussulman and Christian, by whose intervention the quarrel was for the time composed; but to prevent such another scene, I desired Debbeh not to show himself again till I was ready to proceed on my journey.

On the following day, to my great delight, the messenger returned from Damascus, bringing safely deposited in his bosom a letter from M. Beaudin, and a purse containing three hundred piastres, thirty of which (or about twenty shillings) I paid him for his trouble. The morning after his return I took leave of my kind host, presenting him at my departure with a suitable *bacsheesh.* His sister at parting made me a present of a *keiffĕh,* worked with her own hands; in return for which, as she was going to be married, I promised to send her from Damascus some ornaments to wear at her wedding. During the whole of the way to Derout, where we halted that night, Debbeh was silent and sorrowful: and in addition to the vexation he felt at having lost, as he thought, all chance of further *bacsheesh,* his mare in the course of the day fell lame.

I did not wish, however, to part on bad terms; and when I dismissed him on the following morning I gave him twenty-five piastres in addition to the *shirwalls* and the hundred piastres stipulated for. With this he took his leave tolerably well contented, and in the evening we reached Damascus without any other adventure.

CHAPTER XV.

SEIDA.—TRIPOLI.—LATAKIA.

In Turkey there are neither Tookes nor M'Cullochs; and those sagacious persons who perceive danger to the state lurking under the doctrines of political œconomy, might be edified by the primitive and summary mode in which the question of currency is settled in that ancient empire; though I, who was a sufferer by it, could not join in their feelings of admiration. The value of the Spanish dollar, which is the general medium of exchange in large transactions, depends on the order of the local governments of the different provinces, who vary it from time to time as it suits their convenience. For instance, a short time before the taxes are to be collected the Pasha will issue an edict depreciating its value, which is again increased by the same authority whenever any great payments are about to be made from the treasury. Unfortunately for me, the reduction had taken place at Damascus the very day before my subsidy arrived; and the dollars for which at Acre (where the high tariff was still in force,) I had been charged seven piastres, here, according to the order just published, were worth only six, leaving me with a loss of about fourteen per cent on the remittance. I was glad however, under pre-

sent circumstances, to get my money on any terms, and began immediately to prepare for my departure.

As I had promised to pay a visit to M. Deportes before I left Syria, I determined to go to Seida, where he was residing; and a good opportunity now offered itself of making the journey, as M. Beaudin, who had just been appointed dragoman to the French mission, was going thither; and his knowledge of the country and other qualifications, made him always a very desirable companion. In my rambles in the bazar I had picked up, among other characters, a Christian youth of Aleppo named Yanni, by trade a mender of shawls; but who, having been accused (whether truly or not I did not inquire) of purloining some which had been entrusted to his care, had fled to Damascus, where I found him sitting cross-legged and working at his occupation at the gate of the great khan. As he was an excellent buffoon, well skilled in all the tricks and practical jokes of the country, and moreover talked broken French in a most amusing way, I thought that he would help to drive away the dullness of the long winter's evenings on our journey, and I offered to take him with us to Seida. He gladly accepted my offer; but said that he should not be able to show off his powers of entertainment to any advantage unless he had some one with him as a "*paillasse*," or butt to play off his tricks upon; and he therefore proposed that we should add to our suite a Damascene lad named Jowar, a very simple

person, whom I had sometimes employed to rub down my horses and go on errands, and who was now to take the part of clown, and to endure (which he did with great patience) the slaps and kicks of his harlequin companion.

On the 1st of February 1820 we set out; and our company, if not by its numbers, yet by the variety of characters which composed it, reminded me of the pilgrimages of former times. It consisted of M. Beaudin, (to whom all the arrangements of the journey were entrusted,) myself, my dragoman Giorgio, and the two jesters; a merchant who was going to Beyrout with shawls, silks, and mashlaks from Bussora; a Capuchin friar, and a facetious Turkish barber of Damascus. We halted for the night at Assanieen, and the next day crossed the vale of Bekaa, and reached a small village a little way up the side of Mount Lebanon.

February 3rd.—The morning was extremely wet, and we had a very disagreeable ride of about three hours up a steep ascent to the top of the mountain, and afterwards along a naked down. About the middle of the day the clouds dispersed, and the sun broke out upon us as we entered a woody glen, on the other side of which we saw the village of Moktarah, the residence of the Shekh Beshir. We halted under some trees by the side of a stream which rose at the upper end of the glen, and took our noon-tide repast; after which, half an hour's ride brought us to the gates of the mansion. Beaudin

was well known there, having been a frequent visitor in the suite of Lady Hester Stanhope: but a traveller, even without any introduction, is always hospitably received; and the simple manners of the East render it easy to lodge any number of guests at the shortest notice. It is only to spread some mattresses on the floor, and the saloon is immediately converted into a dormitory. The Shekh's house cannot vie with that of the Emir, either in grandeur of situation or beauty of design; but it is large and substantially built, and capable of being easily defended. It commands a view down a pleasant valley, whose terraced slopes, mulberry-orchards, and plane-tree groves, reminded us that we were again arrived among the peaceful and industrious inhabitants of Mount Lebanon.

The Shekh Beshir, as I have before mentioned, was the head of the Druse nation, and by far the richest man in the mountain. His real influence and power was thought to be greater than that of the Emir; and though he was on apparently very good terms with that prince, it was supposed that his submission was unwilling; and that if opportunity should offer, he would aspire himself to the supreme power*. He was now absent on a visit

* A revolution, the particulars of which I am not acquainted with, has since taken place in the mountain. The Emir was in the first instance expelled, and forced to seek refuge at Cairo; but he was afterwards restored, and his rival the poor Shekh beheaded by the Pasha of Acre.

to the Emir; but we had not long arrived, before the distant sound of music announced his approaching return, and we soon saw his train winding round the side of the hill above the palace. He had about half a dozen attendants on horseback, and forty or fifty on foot, all gaily dressed. He was preceded by two men beating Turkish drums; and as he approached the gates the rustic infantry filed off to the right and left, and fired their guns and pistols in the air.

At sunset we sat down to a very excellent supper, and afterwards were invited to visit the Shekh, in the apartment where he receives strangers, which was small, dark, and dirty, and had for its only ornament a French clock, which oddly enough was a present from the Pope. It seemed indeed as if the Shekh had studiously avoided both in his house and establishment the somewhat ostentatious splendour of his neighbour the Emir. Even the countenances of the two men were in contrast to each other;—the Emir's fair, open, and engaging; the Shekh's dark, aquiline, and repulsive. The conversation turned chiefly on the affairs of Aleppo, on which our host seemed very desirous to obtain some information; but we could not give him any beyond the rumours of Damascus, which, if they had been daily minuted down, would have afforded an ample illustration of the facility with which the most marvellous tales obtain currency in Eastern countries. The Shekh pressed us strongly to stay another day at Moktarah,

in order to see an aqueduct which he had lately constructed, and to give our opinion whether it was equal to the Emir's at Behteddin; but the badness of the weather on the following morning gave us an excuse for avoiding this invidious comparison.

February 4th.—About noon we left Moktarah, and a gradual descent carried us to the Nahr el Wahed one of the numerous rivers which nearly intersect Mount Lebanon from east to west. A violent storm overtook us, and we were obliged to seek refuge for two or three hours in a little khan in the valley, from whence we climbed some steep hills on its southern side, and about sunset reached Dehr Mohallis, a very large convent of Greek Catholics, where we halted for the night, and were very handsomely entertained, the Superior being an acquaintance of our Capuchin companion. The next day we descended by a steep and rugged track to the valley of the Nahr el Ouali, where we joined the road from Beyrout, and proceeded along the shore to Seida.

The rainy season had now decidedly set in, and there was scarcely a day without frequent and heavy showers. Travelling in these countries in such weather is extremely disagreeable, and I gladly accepted M. Deportes' invitation to stay with him a fortnight, during which I spent my time very agreeably in his society, and was much gratified by meeting accidentally with an old friend, who had come

lately from England, and was passing down the coast of Syria on his way to India*.

While I was at Seida Lady Hester Stanhope was at the convent of St. Elias, her principal residence, which is about two miles distant; but as all Englishmen were then under her ban, I did not make any attempt to be introduced to her. M. Deportes frequently visited her; and two French gentlemen of her suite, a father and son, named L'Ousternaut, sometimes came to dine with him. The elder of these had in early life served a native prince in India, and brought back a large fortune; but having lost it in the French revolution he set out to return to India over-land to recover some claims which he had on his former master. The want of pecuniary means stopped him short in Syria, and he lived for several years the life of a hermit in the caverns of Mount Carmel. In this solitude he employed himself in a diligent study of the Bible; and his imagination being left to work alone and uncontrolled amid the very scenes of sacred history, he at length persuaded himself that a new light had burst in upon him, and that he had attained

"To something like prophetic strain."

Lady Hester had on some occasion pitched her tents at the foot of Mount Carmel, when L'Ousternaut appeared before her with his flowing beard and

* Mr. H. W. Hobhouse.

rude attire; and she being, according to report, convinced of the truth of his pretensions, or, as is more probable, struck with the singularity of his appearance, his romantic history, and original turn of mind, reclaimed him to the usages of civilized life, and gave him an asylum in a house near her own.

L'Ousternaut had a son who had been a captain of cavalry in the Imperial Guard, but whom the peace had thrown out of employment; and as just at this time Lady Hester had taken a violent antipathy to her own countrymen, and a warm partiality to the French, particularly to those who had served under Napoleon, and whom she denominated "*Enfans de la gloire*," it did not require a spirit of prophecy to foresee that he would be a welcome guest at St. Elias. Accordingly he soon received an invitation to visit his father, and almost immediately on his arrival was appointed equerry to her ladyship; exchanged his thread-bare chasseur's jacket for a gay Mameluke costume, and became director in chief of her whole establishment.

At a time when Lady Hester was more an object of public attention than she has of late been, much speculation was excited as to the causes of her retreat; and it was by some attributed to a love of singularity, by others to disappointment, either in ambition, or in a softer passion. To me, I confess, it is not a matter of surprise that any person who has sufficient intellectual resources to be independent of what is called society, should settle in a

country like Syria, where with very moderate pecuniary means, and almost without an effort, a degree of consideration and importance may be attained, which in England can be the fruit only of great wealth or great exertion; and where the influence of the climate alone is in itself almost sufficient to produce happiness to those who seek it less in activity than in repose. Lady Hester on her first arrival was exceedingly courted by the Turkish authorities, as well as by the shekhs and emirs of the mountain; but, whether from inequality of temper, or from too great a disposition to interfere in their affairs, she had now ceased to be on good terms with almost all the residents in the country; and though still treated by them with great respect, she associated with scarcely any persons but those of her own household.

February 21st.—I left Seida and reached Beyrout in the evening. A violent rain detained me the whole of the next day in M. Laurella's house, and on the following day the weather was still so showery that I was obliged to halt several times in my way; and though the distance is not great, it was late at night before I arrived at the hospitable mansion of Monsignor Gandolfi at Antoura. I found it full of visitors, collected together on the occasion of the election of a Patriarch for the Syrian church; and the next day at dinner I was introduced to the seven bishops who represent that nation and form the electoral college. The successful candi-

date, an ecclesiastic named Gregorio, or in Arabic Jowar, had long been ambitious of the honour; but his pretensions had been successfully opposed on a former occasion by M. Gandolfi, who thought him an ambitious and intriguing person. Being thus foiled he determined to visit Europe, where his venerable appearance, his pleasing manners, and above all, his character as archbishop of Jerusalem, would hardly fail to attract attention; although the latter distinction was little more than titular, as the Syrian church, if it exists at all in that city, is extremely reduced, and the archbishop had never before quitted his dignified retreat in the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon. He first made his appearance at Rome, where he found favour in the sight of Pius VII., who made him presents of books and other valuables, and recommended him to the king of Naples, who bestowed on him still more solid marks of his approbation. In France I believe he was not so successful; but on passing over into England he was received with open arms by many respectable individuals, both of the national and dissenting churches. The sanctity of his character and gravity of his manners won the hearts of the serious; and his avowed object of collecting funds for the purposes of education opened the purses of the liberal. Subscriptions poured in, and a printing press was provided to assist the arduous "march of intellect" up the steeps of Mount Lebanon. Having completed this "circumnavigation of charity," the

archbishop set out on his return, highly satisfied with the success of his tour. That his own family might participate in his good fortune, he employed a part of the money that he had collected in purchasing at Vienna a dignity of the Roman empire for his brother, who from being *magaziniere* or warehouseman to a merchant at Aleppo, unexpectedly started up a Marquess. The remainder was sufficient to secure the votes of the Syrian episcopal bench, and to obtain for him the patriarchal chair this time, in spite of the opposition of the Apostolic Vicar; while the printing press having been broken by some accident in the conveyance, was reposing quietly at Constantinople.

I staid three days with M. Gandolfi, and on the 28th of February returned to Tripoli, after having been absent three months instead of thirty days as I had intended. On my arrival I found that my friends there had given up almost all expectation of seeing me again; as none of the letters which I had written from Damascus had reached their destination, and as some muleteers from that place had brought word that I had been murdered by the Bedouins on my way to Palmyra. They all very kindly congratulated me on my safe return; and my man Biaggio, whom I left at the convent, came with great delight to kiss my hand. It was now currently reported that the affairs of Aleppo were in a train of settlement, but no authentic intelligence had been received; and till that arrived I de-

termined to remain in my present comfortable quarters. Tripoli is the place which I should prefer as a residence to any other on the Syrian coast. The town is neat, airy, and quiet; the situation very pleasant; the inhabitants civil and obliging; and the historian is not guilty of any exaggeration in saying that the neighbourhood "affords in a narrow space every variety of soil and climate, from the holy cedars, erect under the weight of snow, to the vine, the mulberry and the olive-trees of the fruitful valley*."

At the end of about a fortnight the agreeable intelligence arrived that the disturbances at Aleppo were at an end, and that the Turkish authorities had resumed their sway with fewer acts of cruelty and vengeance than generally attend the restoration of arbitrary power.

Having dispatched my servant and heavy baggage by sea to Latakia, I set out for that place on the 28th of March at day-break. For about six miles the road runs along the foot of the mountains, which afterwards retire to the eastward, and leave a wide open plain, across which we passed at a considerable distance from the sea. This plain is of great extent, and is traversed by several streams; in some places it was intersected by bogs and morasses, over which our experienced muleteers guided us by narrow paths; in others it was covered with abundant crops of grass, clover, and barley. The

* Gibbon, 47, 3.

scene was here and there enlivened by the green tents of the Turkish cavalry, who are accustomed to encamp for a few weeks before the violent heats of summer come on, for the sake of turning out their horses, of which I saw great numbers, some tethered, and some roaming at large in the rich pasture.

On quitting the plain we entered on a range of hilly country interspersed with trees chiefly of Valaniah oak, which were in some places scattered irregularly over the turf, in others clustered in thicker groups, or mixed with underwood so as to form impenetrable thickets; on the northern side of these hills we descended into a cultivated country, and about an hour after sunset reached a large ruinous castle, one of the many relics of the days of chivalry which characterize this district. Its only inhabitants now were some shepherds, who had driven down their flocks to graze during the spring months on the plains, and had established themselves for the time within its mouldering walls. We found a detached chamber, which had once probably served for the abode of the warder, as it overhung the ruinous bridge which crossed the *fossé:* the roof was still sufficiently perfect to protect us from the weather, and we kindled a fire with some wood which we purchased from the shepherds. But our night's rest was disturbed by a violent tempest of wind, rain, and thunder, by the melancholy howlings of the jackalls, which hovered

round the flocks, and the perpetual baying of the watch-dogs.

The following morning was bright and promising: but our hopes of a fine day were soon disappointed; the clouds collected, and speedily burst in torrents over our heads. At a little distance from the coast we saw before us the island of Rouad (the ancient Aradus) enveloped in mist, and the narrow channel which divides it from the main land crowded with vessels which had sought refuge from the storm of the preceding night. Crossing obliquely a level plain of considerable extent we reached Tartous (the ancient Tortosa), which is situated on the shore nearly opposite to the island. It is built on a rocky point projecting into the sea, and on the land side a *fossé* of great width and depth has been cut through the solid stone, and is crowned on the side next the town by a wall which is still entire.

The modern houses do not occupy above half the area of the old walls, and almost all of them are built upon the remains of more ancient structures. About the centre of the town is a large church now dilapidated, and there is a still larger one, in a better state of preservation, without the walls. Both appear to be of the period when the Grecian style of architecture was giving place to the Saracenic.

At a few hours' ride from Tartous we passed on our right the Castle of Markouf, which is the largest that I saw in Syria. Its walls inclose the summit of

a high hill which slopes down towards the sea, and are said to be capable of affording protection within their area to an army of fifty thousand men. It is kept in good repair, and is in the hands of a private family, who hold it by a sort of military tenure. At the foot of the hill on which it stands is the wretched Khan of Bayasse, where we halted for the night. We found it already nearly filled by a party of wild-looking Albanian soldiers, who, having been discharged by the Pasha of Aleppo in consequence of the submission of that city, were going to seek a fresh service with Mahomet Ali; and as we did not like to disturb such a ferocious set of fellows, who had occupied all the mats near the fire-place, we were obliged, wet and weary as we were, to pass a comfortless night on a stone bench in a cold corner of the khan.

The next day we halted at the little town of Gebail (the ancient Gebala), where there is a Roman amphitheatre in a tolerable state of preservation; and in the evening we reached Latakia. The distance from Tripoli is about thirty hours' ride at the ordinary caravan pace, though a detached horseman might do it in much less time. The journey is rendered very incommodious by the want of any good khans or resting-places, and also by the numerous rivers which intersect the route, as there are but few bridges, and of these the greater part are broken down and impassable. The country has the appearance of great fertility; but the half-peopled

towns, the deserted churches and the mouldering castles, give it a gloomy character wholly opposed to that of the cheerful districts of Mount Lebanon. The towns are inhabited by Mahometans and a few Greek Christians. The mountains are occupied chiefly by the Ensyrians, a peculiar race, great numbers of whom are to be found throughout the whole extent of country from Tripoli to Antioch, and from the sea to the plains of Aleppo. Very little accurate information can be obtained about these people, as, like their neighbours the Druses, they endeavour to throw a veil of mystery over many of their customs, more particularly their religious tenets and observances, which, as far as they are known, appear to be strongly tinged with superstition, and to partake of Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism. They abstain from pork but not from wine; and they observe many of the Christian festivals, especially Christmas and the Epiphany. It is at this period of the year that they assemble in some obscure recesses of the mountains—always near a stream of water, where they hold their feasts and perform their religious ceremonies with the greatest secrecy*. At this period too they initiate persons who may be desirous of becoming acquainted with the mysteries of their faith: and so strong are the obligations by which they ensure fidelity, that it is said not one of these novices has

* Ezekiel xviii. 6, "And hath not eaten upon the mountains," may perhaps have reference to this custom.

been known to divulge the secret, although some have sought admission from motives of curiosity alone. They are distinguished by the name of Idolaters; and though, from every thing that I could hear or observe, I believe them to be a peaceable and inoffensive race, they incur a sufficient quantity of the *odium theologicum* from their neighbours, and are held by the Musulman especially in peculiar abhorrence.

I was anxious to go on to Aleppo as speedily as possible; but my host at Latakia, a worthy Greek merchant named Moossy Elias, who was the English agent there, pressed me very strongly to stay with him till after the Greek Easter. "That was the period," he said, "at which he received visits of ceremony from all the foreign consuls and principal inhabitants of the place, and it would contribute greatly to his "*onore*" to have an English gentleman seated beside him on the divan on that occasion." Moreover, as I had been present at a grand fête which the French consul had given at the Latin Easter, which happened to be the day after my arrival at Latakia,—if I did not stay for the Greek festival, which this year fell a week later, it would appear a slight not only to him as the English agent, but even to the Greek Church itself, which was nearly allied to our own*. As I wished by all means to

* The Greek schismatics, as is well known, eat leavened bread in the sacrament, and have a great horror of the Pope and popery; and as they have heard that the English resemble them in these points,

avoid this scandal, and was glad to gratify my host, who was the most obliging of mankind, and did every thing in his power to make my residence in his house comfortable, I consented to remain the week with him, although Latakia has little to interest or amuse a traveller. It is the ancient Laodicea, and there is a triumphal arch dedicated to Augustus Cæsar, in tolerable preservation.

About Easter is the period of the great flights of quails on the coast of Syria; and in the streets of Latakia you meet at every ten yards some person carrying on his wrist, either for his own use or for hire, one of the beautiful little hawks, about the size of an English sparrow-hawk, which are employed in catching them. Being curious to see the sport, I went out one morning with a facetious Greek doctor named Constantino, brother-in-law to Moossy Elias and physician to the Motsellim of Latakia. We took with us two falconers, each with his hawk on his wrist and a little springing spaniel at his heels, and proceeded to a very large field of thick tufted clover not far from the town, where at every ten yards we sprung a quail. As soon as the dogs indicated that game was near, the falconer prepared by taking the hawk in the hollow of his hand, and he launched it after the bird the instant that it was upon the wing. Nine times out of ten the hawk was successful; but if he missed his prey at

(which they consider the essentials of religion,) they naturally enough suppose some affinity between our church and their own.

the first swoop he never could overtake it, as he was encumbered with small bells round his legs, and the flight of the quail when once well on the wing is most rapid. When thus disappointed, he would after a short pursuit tower up to a great height in the air, and afterwards settle on the ground at a distance, and wait sulkily till the falconer came to take him up. The hawks I observed never used their beak in the chase; the quarry was struck down, and probably stunned by the violence of the blow he received on coming in contact with his pursuer, who did not do him any further injury, but held him quietly under his talons till he was taken away. So abundant was the game, that in four hours we killed about forty couple of quails and land-rails, which we found in nearly equal numbers.

We were now quite satisfied with our sport; and as the Motsellim was encamped at a little distance, the doctor proposed to go and offer him a part of the game, and to ask whether it would be agreeable that I should pay him a visit. I was glad of the opportunity of seeing something of the manners of the great Turks, and therefore agreed to this proposal: and my companion soon returned with a complimentary message, saying that the Motsellim was just sitting down to dinner (as he had no doubt anticipated), and would be very glad of our company. I accordingly went to the tent and was introduced to His Excellency, who was a coarse-looking man,

rather rough though not uncivil in his manners. By his side was sitting a very handsome and gaily dressed young Turk named Mustapha Bazar, whom I recognized as an old acquaintance, having known him at Damascus. He was originally a Georgian slave, who was purchased when a boy for Suleyman Pasha in the market at Constantinople, and had taken his name from that circumstance. When he arrived at the harem at Acre, one of the favourite wives of Suleyman recognized him as her brother; and the Pasha in consequence gave him his liberty, and when he grew up married him to the widow of his friend and neighbour Ali Pasha of Tripoli, who was mother to his adopted son Abdallah. So long as Suleyman lived Mustapha enjoyed great wealth and favour, but when his step-son Abdallah succeeded to the Pashalik he was stripped of his property, and obliged to fly first to Damascus and afterwards to Latakia, where his wife, who preferred following his fortunes, and had made her escape from Acre, came to join him.

The dinner, (as is always the case among the Turks,) was dispatched with great rapidity; and soon afterwards Mustapha took it into his head to go out shooting with some of his attendants. It was now very hot, and the birds were scattered and difficult to find; and it was most laughable to see the Turks in their flowing robes and bulky trousers stumbling through the thick clover, and attempting to shoot flying with their long Albanian guns, which

were a quarter of an hour in going off. As might be expected, they were soon tired of the sport; and we returned to our pipes and coffee in the tent. Soon afterwards the Hasnadar (or chief officer of the custom-house) arrived from the town, and brought with him a sort of upper servant or humble companion, upon whom all sorts of practical jokes were exercised for the amusement of the Motsellim and his friends. One shoved off his turban, another cut him across the legs or shoulders with his *corbatch**; and at length, after various other tricks, they threw him down and held him on the ground while His Excellency himself with a pair of small scissars snipped off both his eye-brows and one of his mustachios. In the midst of the mirth and laughter which this ingenious joke occasioned, Mustapha happened to take out his watch; and finding that it was three o'clock, immediately asked for water, washed his hands, and kneeling down in the tent repeated his prayers with the utmost gravity. I soon afterwards took my leave, carrying off the small remains of the morning's sport which the Motsellim condescended to leave us, and having learnt that great Turks are not more refined in their amusements than the Grandees of other nations.

The fast which the Greek church enjoins on its disciples during Lent is much more rigorous than

* A sort of riding-whip used in the East, made of the skin of the hippopotamus.

that which the Latin church imposes:—no flesh is on any pretence allowed them, and fish only on the Mid-lent Sunday. During the remainder of the forty days their bill of fare consists of rice and oil only; and even the latter is sometimes forbidden, and the raw olive only permitted. Of all the various schemes which in different ages and countries have been invented for making religion unamiable, that of long fasts has been perhaps the most effectual. A continued meagre and unwholesome diet produces naturally weakness, disease, and corresponding ill-humour; and the period of Lent is looked forward to with horror, and passed with disgust. At the approach of Easter the spirits of the people begin to revive; and scarcely has the midnight hour been proclaimed, and the morning mass celebrated, when they sit down and devour voraciously the Paschal lamb. Two or three days are passed in almost continual feasting, which following immediately on six weeks fast, cannot fail to produce a plentiful harvest of disease; and accordingly my friend Constantino told me that his best practice was always during the fortnight after Easter.

The wished-for period at last arrived; and having passed one whole morning seated on the divan beside my host while he received his numerous guests, and the next in accompanying him to return the visits of the most distinguished amongst them, I was at liberty to pursue my journey.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANTIOCH.—ALEPPO.—LATAKIA.

On the twelfth of April I left Latakia for Aleppo, taking a circuitous route by Antakia, the ancient Antioch. Towards the end of our first day's journey we quitted the plain, and began to ascend very gradually the southern side of Mount Casius. The scenery in this part of our ride was delightful. In some places the sides of the mountain were shaded by groves of lofty Weymouth pines, in others, covered with thickets of dwarf oak, and every where enlivened by a profusion of shrubs and flowers, all of which were now in full bloom; while the foliage, refreshed by the late showers, displayed its brightest verdure. The general aspect of the country was different from that to which I had of late been accustomed, and reminded me of more northern regions. The olives had given place to hardier trees; the few houses which we passed were built of wood, and their sloping roofs covered with tiles indicated a climate subject to frequent rains. On the second day we reached the summit of the mountain, and the road winding round it, opened on the north to the valley of the Orontes and the dark and lofty chain of Mount Amanus. A wide gorge of the mountain, each side richly clothed with shrubs and

flowers, led us down to the banks of the river, which flows in a narrow, muddy, and very rapid stream through a valley inclosed on each side by steep hills. Silk being the staple article of produce, the valley is entirely occupied by mulberry-trees, and irrigated by large Persian wheels, whose creaking sound reminded me of the *sakiahs* on the banks of the Nile. We soon caught a view of the grey walls of Antakia, rising on the side of a steep rocky hill on the southern bank of the river; and a ride of about three hours up the valley brought us to the gates. The town, although it contains some good houses, makes on the whole but a mean appearance; and the sloping roofs and dingy hue of the stone produce a heavy and sombre effect, when compared with the stuccoed walls and terraces of more southern districts. It is situated entirely on the left bank of the river, over which there is an old wooden bridge, and it is supplied with water by some very large hydraulic wheels thirty or forty feet in diameter. The population is considerable, and almost exclusively Mahometan; for the Ensyrian idolaters reside chiefly in the villages, and not more than a hundred Christian families are now to be found at this primitive seat of their religion,—all of them Greek Schismatics.

To one of the principal of these,—a young man named Yussuff Saba,—I had letters of introduction from Moossy Elias. He received me very kindly, but excused himself from lodging me in his house,

which he said was in a state of great confusion. An old steward who had lived for many years in his family was going to be married, and according to the customs of these countries, where the distinction between master and servant is not so strongly marked as among nations which have made a greater progress in refinement, the marriage was to take place at his master's house; and Yussuff, in order to show his respect for his old domestic, had determined that it should be celebrated with due magnificence. The ceremony was not to take place till two days afterwards, but the visitings and feasting had already commenced, and the bustle of preparation was at its height. Yussuff therefore provided me with an apartment at the house of his brother-in-law, another wealthy Christian, where he thought I should be more quiet than in his own.

During the greater part of the next day the rain kept me in-doors; and when evening came I was glad to seek for amusement in a visit to the wedding party. I found a large assembly, chiefly composed of the Christian inhabitants of the town, but intermixed with a few of the neighbouring Ensyrian peasants. In the middle of the room was an emaciated old man with grey hair and beard, whom I soon discovered to be the family buffoon. The company seemed much amused by his odd sayings and grotesque attitudes; but the most effective part of his wit appeared to consist in the enormous quantity of aqua vitæ which he drank, and at every

draught there was a general peal of laughter. Nor did the other guests appear less disposed to imitate than to applaud old Simone, as a small glass was handed round at least every quarter of an hour, and I observed very few who ever allowed it to pass. The Christians in the north of Syria are extremely addicted to aqua vitæ, partly from taste and partly because their Mahometan neighbours are confined to water only. Drinking they therefore esteem a distinctive mark of their religion, and their zeal and orthodoxy are gauged by the quantity of strong liquors which they are able to swallow.

The other amusements of the evening were singing and dancing, in which several of the company took a part. The most favourite vocal performer was a young Jew from Aleppo, whose appearance was greeted with general acclamation. He had a very fine voice, and was an adept in the art of singing after the Eastern fashion. The applause which his shrill and nasal tones excited was quite enthusiastic, and I never saw so great an effect produced by the performances of Braham or Catalani. The delight of the audience was expressed by every look and gesture; till one by one almost all rose from their seats, stamping their feet and clapping their hands in time; while the youth placing the hollow of his hand behind his ear, poured fourth his harsh notes with all the strength of his lungs.

In the intervals of the singing, dancing was introduced, an exercise of which the inhabitants of Upper

Syria are very fond, and in which they excel. Their dances are generally executed by one or two persons only; and some of them (the sabre dance especially, a sort of mock single combat derived probably from the ancient Pyrrhic) are spirited and picturesque. The performances on this occasion, however, were chiefly in that peculiar style which is prevalent throughout the East; and as the evening advanced and the aqua vitæ circulated, it was highly diverting to see even "grave and reverend seniors" imitating the attitudes of Egyptian Almehs. The Christians of Antioch it appears do not think that so natural an exercise as dancing can be unbecoming at any age.

During the time that these festivities were going on among the men, the ladies, if we might judge from the frequent cry of joy which proceeded from their apartment, were amusing themselves equally well. About an hour after midnight the party broke up, having passed the evening with the greatest harmony, and without riot or excess. They seemed much pleased by the presence of the stranger-guest, and as a mark of their attention I was escorted to my own lodgings by several of the young men preceded by a drum, a pipe, and a mandoline.

Sunday the 16th was fixed upon for the wedding, the preliminary rejoicings having already lasted three days. The length of time during which these festivities continue is regulated by the wealth and rank of the parties. In some families they are pro-

tracted for ten or fourteen days, to the extreme disorder of the household. The ceremonies, as far as I had an opportunity of observing them, were as follows. About three o'clock the young friends of the bride having collected together in the house of Yussuff Saba, (which on this occasion was supposed to belong to the bridegroom,) the latter was obliged to relinquish it to them, and seek refuge at that where I was lodged. He made but a forlorn appearance, as custom required that for several days preceding the wedding he should let his beard grow and wear his oldest and shabbiest clothes. As soon as the bridegroom's house was thus clear for her reception, the women sallied forth to fetch the bride from the abode of her parents. There were about fifty of them, all dressed in white veils which covered their faces and almost their whole figures; they carried garlands of flowers in their hands, and walked in procession with a hurried and irregular pace. There was not any crowd collected in the streets to see them pass, as the Mahometans, either from disdain or from courtesy, make it a rule to keep aloof from all Christian festivals. About an hour after sunset a party of friends came to fetch the bridegroom, whose chin had been polished in the meantime, but who was still dressed in his old clothes, and he was conducted by torchlight to Yussuff's house. I accompanied the procession, and on our arrival we found the court crowded with friends and spectators. A mat was spread out in one corner, on

which the bridegroom's new clothes were placed; and by the assistance of four priests, who acted the part of valets on this occasion, he was speedily disencumbered of his old ones, and re-equipped from top to toe. Like the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, he was dressed to the sound of music; for the priests during the whole of the operation kept droning out a most melancholy and nasal psalm tune, in which the spectators who stood round, each with a lighted taper in his hand, occasionally joined.

As soon as the dressing was completed we adjourned into a large room which opened on the court, and in the middle of which stood the bride and the bridesmaid: the bride was covered with a long white veil, which flowed down to the ground and concealed her whole figure; in addition to which, a rose-coloured gauze handkerchief was thrown over her head and face, and fell down to her waist. Her companion wore the same dress with the exception of the handkerchief; and as they stood alone and motionless in the middle of a large room, no one would have taken them for animated beings. At their feet were crouched two of the most miserable squalid-looking objects that I ever beheld, whose dirty rags seemed ill-suited to the place and the occasion. On my asking "how they came there without a wedding garment?" I was told that they were poor sick women, who were admitted because to hear the marriage benediction was considered a certain remedy for their disorders.

As soon as the immediate friends had been introduced the doors were closed, so that the room was not at all crowded, the party consisting perhaps of about thirty persons. The bride and bridegroom were placed side by side, the chief priest stood facing them and repeated certain prayers or lessons, to which the others responded; he then crossed the ring three times on the forehead of the bridegroom, and as often on that of the bride, and gently drawing her delicate little hand from under the rose-coloured veil, placed it on her finger. A coronet ornamented with flowers and gilding was set on each of their heads, and each took a sip of wine from a silver cup, the priest drinking the remainder. They then joined hands, and with their attendants walked at a measured pace, keeping time to a chaunt sung by the priests, three times round the altar, which on this occasion was typified by a small joint-stool placed in the middle of the room. After this the benediction was pronounced, and the ceremony concluded. The bridesmaids now led back the bride to join her companions in the women's apartment, from whence during the ceremony the joyful cry of *Lillah, lillah, lillah* had frequently reached our ears, and the house was again left to their sole possession.

All the men immediately retired to my lodgings, and the evening and great part of the night was spent in the same revelry as the preceding one

had been; singing, dancing, and drinking being kept up till near day-break. The bridegroom, accompanied by a young friend who acted as his bridesman, remained in one corner of the room aloof from the rest of the company, with a large candle burning before him, and exhibiting him as a clearer mark for the jests, neither few nor delicate, with which he was assailed on all sides. I was told that according to strict etiquette he ought to have been kept standing on one leg: but this inconvenient formality was dispensed with; he was allowed to use both, and even to sit down, except when any person of consequence was singing or dancing. With all this, however, to quote the words of another traveller* on a similar occasion, "for a man in so enviable a situation as that of a bridegroom, he made but a sorry figure;" and being moreover a very grave and staid-looking person of about fifty years of age, the effect was the more ludicrous.

17th.—The weather still continued so rainy that I could not go out, and about twelve o'clock I was fated to see my apartment again filled with guests, who came to amuse the afternoon in the usual way. About sunset we repaired to Yussuff Saba's, where the festivities were concluded by a grand supper, at which about sixty persons sat down. As soon as it was over the bridegroom took his leave of the company, and was admitted to the women's

* Col. Denham.

apartment, where he would for the first time behold the features of his bride, the business of courtship in these countries being carried on by the intervention of a third person, and the lady being carefully kept from the lover's sight till after marriage.

The rest of the company adjourned to my room, and the amusements of the former evening were revived. I perceived, however, that the spirit of the party had very much evaporated. Several of the most popular performers had retired to their own homes, and those who remained appeared jaded and exhausted by the long continued revels. I was in hopes that they would have departed early and have left me to repose; but old Simone the buffoon came out in the new character of a story-teller, and kept his audience together till long after midnight. The intervals in his narration, occasioned by his frequent draughts of aqua vitæ, afforded the interpreter an opportunity of giving me the outline of several of his tales; but I did not think any of them so good as that of

The Jew of Hamah*.

Once upon a time there lived in Hamah a certain Turk called Mustapha, who having accumulated some wealth by carrying on a trade in goat's hair,

* This story was told me by my friend Mr. Masyck of Aleppo; and as I do not recollect to have seen it in print, I introduce it here. By dint of amplification, a skilful story-teller would easily spin it out for two hours.

determined to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. His family consisted of his wife and two slaves; and as the lady insisted on not being left behind, the good man resolved to sell off his stock of goat's hair, to take all his household with him, and to shut up his house till his return. The only difficulty that presented itself was what to do with his money. He did not like to run the risk of being robbed of it in his journey through the Desert, he did not like to leave it in an empty house, and there were not any of his friends to whom he wished to trust the secret of his wealth. After much deliberation he placed it in separate parcels at the bottom of five large earthen jars, which he then filled up with butter, and on his departure sent them to the house of one of his neighbours, a Jew named Mousa, to keep till his return, telling him that it was a stock which he had laid in for winter consumption. The Jew, however, from the weight of the jars and other circumstances, suspected that they contained something more valuable; and as soon as Mustapha was fairly on his way to Damascus to join the caravan, he ventured to open them; when finding his expectations realized, he took out the gold and filled them up again with butter so carefully, that nobody could tell that they had been disturbed. The poor Turk on his return from the pilgrimage soon found out the trick that his neighbour had practised upon him; but as the jars were exactly in the same apparent state as when he left them, and as there was

no evidence as to their contents, it was plain that no legal process could give him any redress. He therefore set about to devise some other way of punishing the Jew, and of recovering if possible his property; and in the mean time he did not communicate his loss to any person but his wife, and enjoined on her the strictest secrecy.

After long consideration a plan suggested itself. In one of his visits to the neighbouring town of Homs, where he was in the habit of going to sell his goat's hair to the manufacturers of the mashlakhs, for which that place is famous, he fell in with a troop of gypsies, who had with them an ape of extraordinary sagacity. He prevailed on them to sell him this animal; and conveying it privately to his house at Hamah, shut it up in a room to which no one but himself had access. He then went to the bazar and bought one of the dark scanty robes and the small caps or *kalpaks*, with a speckled handkerchief tied closely round it, which is the prescribed costume of the Jews throughout the Turkish empire. This dress he took care invariably to put on whenever he went to visit his ape; and as he always carried him his meals, and indeed never allowed any other person to see him, the animal in the course of a few weeks became extremely attached to him, jumping on his neck and hugging and caressing him as soon as he entered the room.

About this time, as he was walking along the

streets one day he met a lad, the son of the Jew Mousa, and having enticed him into his house by the promise of some figs, he shut him up a close prisoner in a detached apartment in his garden, at such a distance from the street and from the other houses in the town that the boy could not discover to any one the place of his confinement. The Jew after several days search not being able to obtain any tidings of him, concluded that he had either been drowned, or had strayed out of the town and fallen into the hands of some wandering Bedouins; and as he was his only child, fell into a state of the greatest despair: till at length he heard by accident, that just about the time that the boy was missing, he had been seen walking in company with Hadgi Mustapha. The truth instantly flashed on his mind, and he recognized in the loss of his son some stratagem which the Turk had planned in revenge for the affair of the butter-jars. He immediately summoned him before the Cadi, accused him of having the boy in his possession, and insisted on his immediately restoring him. Mustapha at first strenuously denied the fact; but when one of the witnesses positively declared that he saw the boy go into his house; and when the Cadi was about to pronounce his decree, that he should bring him into court dead or alive; "*Yah illah, el Allah*," he exclaimed, "There is no God but Allah, and his power is infinite; he can work miracles when it seemeth good in his sight." "It

is true, Effendi," continued he, addressing himself to the Cadi, "that I saw the Jew Mousa's son passing by my house; and for the sake of the old friendship subsisting between his father and myself, I invited him to come in and to eat some figs which I had just been gathering. The boy however repaid my hospitality with rudeness and abuse: nay, he even blasphemed the name of our holy Prophet; but scarcely had the words passed his lips, when to my surprise and horror he was suddenly changed into a monkey. In that form I will produce him: and as a proof that what I tell you is true, you will see that he will immediately recognize his father."

At this instant a servant who was waiting on the outside let loose the ape into the divan, who seeing that the Jew was the only person present in the dress to which he was accustomed, mistook him for his master, jumped upon him, and clung round his neck with all the expressions of fondness which the child might have been supposed to exhibit on being restored to his parent. Nothing more was wanting to convince the audience of the truth of Mustapha's story: "A miracle, a real miracle!" they cried out, "great is Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet:" and the Jew was ordered to take the monkey and retire from the court. A compromise was now his only resource; and accordingly, as soon as it was dark and he could go unobserved, he repaired to Mustapha's house, and offered, if he

would liberate his son, to restore all the money which he had taken from the butter-jars. The Turk having attained his object, consented to release his prisoner; but in order to keep up his own credit, he stipulated that the child should be removed privately, and that the father with his whole family should immediately quit the place. The popular belief in the miracle thus remained unshaken; and so great was the disrepute into which the Jews fell in consequence of this adventure, that they all departed one after the other, and none have ever since been known to reside in Hamah.

April 18th.—Tranquillity was restored within-doors; and the rain having abated, I was able to walk out and survey the old walls, which are very extensive, the modern town occupying but a very small portion of their area. They are of the firmest masonry, and though built probably under the Lower Empire, are still almost entire. They are flanked by square towers at short distances from each other, which, with one exception only, are broken open on the inner side. This one bears no traces of ever having been opened; and it has now become a matter of superstition to leave it undisturbed.

On the 19th of April we left Antakia, and proceeded for some distance with the Orontes on our left, and a low range of hills (a continuation of that on which the town is placed) on our right, till we came to the spot where the river makes its great bend. We there crossed it near a little village

called Jesir Hadid, "the bridge of iron," although the bridge itself is now of wood. At this spot, from the right bank of the Orontes a very large plain extends in an eastern and north-eastern direction, bounded on the north by the lofty chain of Amanus, and on the east and south by a range of lower hills. It is of great fertility, producing grass of uncommon fineness and luxuriance; and it was now overspread with the black tents of the Turkmen. We crossed this plain, and about an hour after sunset came to a little village called Haran at the foot of the lower range of hills. Here are the massive remains of a castle, which we explored in vain to find a room that might afford us shelter. We were therefore forced to take refuge in a mill, from whence, having passed a most restless night disturbed by the rattling of three pair of large mill-stones, we emerged the next morning covered from head to foot with dust and flour. At a short distance from the village we quitted the plain, and ascended very gradually into an upland and in some places almost mountainous tract, stony, barren, and deserted, although the frequent remains of castles, churches and convents, showed that it had once been cultivated and well peopled. After a tedious ride through this solitary and almost trackless country, our guides, who had several times lost their way, succeeded in finding the little village of Dináh, which we reached about four o'clock. It was quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled, as they

frequently do in these countries, either on some alarm of banditti, or on the approach of the Turkish tax-gatherers, whose appearance they equally dread.

I walked round the village with the dragoman, to select among the deserted cottages one that might afford us a convenient lodging; but we soon found that a swarm of creeping inhabitants had remained behind, which would render our quarters very uncomfortable. Giorgio had a pair of bright yellow boots which he had just purchased at Antakia; and he had scarcely passed the threshold of the first house which we inspected, when they were so covered with this vermin that their colour became scarcely discernible. Several other cottages that we visited were equally well stocked, and we began to think that it would be best to take up our night's lodging in the open air; when at last we found one which, from the fresh burnt cinders on the hearth, appeared to have been very recently evacuated, and where the animals, in consequence, were not so famished and so ravenous as in the others. Just as we were going to take possession, however, another claimant appeared. He was a Turk shabbily dressed, but as he was mounted on a good horse and had two attendants with him besides a black slave, he was evidently a person of consequence. I thought it therefore most prudent to avoid dispute by proposing to share the apartment, small as it was, between us; and we accordingly passed the evening together. He told

me that he had been a great traveller, and had visited most of the provinces of the Turkish empire. He was now, he said, on his way from Constantinople to Aleppo on affairs of government; and I afterwards discovered that he was a Capigi Bashi. He considered that the fatigue of travelling absolved him from the strict observances of his religion, and dispatched with much satisfaction the greater part of a bottle of rum which I gave him in exchange for a large bowl of most excellent milk which he had bought, or perhaps taken, from the Turkmen on the plain.

About the middle of the next day we reached Aleppo. The approach to that city is striking, from the wildness and solitude which reign around it. It stands in a slight hollow among wide open downs, and scarcely a tree is to be seen except in the gardens, which skirt several little streams at no great distance from the walls. It is, or rather was (for since I was there it has been almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake), more substantially built than any city which I saw in the Turkish empire, the houses being mostly of stone. They had terraced roofs, and arches here and there thrown across the streets, communicating from the terrace of one house to that of another. The Franks occupied several large khans in the neighbourhood of the bazar, consisting of a number of houses built round a spacious quadrangle. When they were more numerous at Aleppo, each nation

had its respective khan, which still retained the name of the English, the French, the Dutch khan, and so on, though no longer exclusively occupied by the subjects of those countries. The European commerce of Aleppo declined with the progress of navigation, as the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope became more easy and expeditious. Its internal trade had also of late years much diminished, from the general impoverishment of the surrounding country; and the inhabitants, dispirited by the late rebellion and siege, were full of gloomy forebodings, and predicted that the city would soon fall into utter decay, and become, like Palmyra, a heap of ruins in the Desert,—a prediction which has been accomplished by the hand of Nature more speedily than they anticipated.

As yet, however, Aleppo was by far the most cheerful place in Syria; the Franks were numerous, lived very sociably among themselves, and were very polite to strangers. They retained much of the ceremony of the old school; and at first receiving or returning their visits, it was necessary to be tutored by some experienced practitioner as to the precise form and number of bows and congés which were due to the degree of the person or the importance of the occasion. Mr. Barker, the English consul, was at this time absent; but his younger brother, who acted as his agent, was exceedingly assiduous in what was now, I believe, the most important duty of the office,—attention to his wander-

ing fellow-countrymen. I resided with Mr. Masyck the Dutch consul, a very agreeable and intelligent man. He was a native of Aleppo, and had scarcely ever quitted the place of his birth: but he had a knowledge of life seldom to be found even among those who have had a more extensive field of observation; spoke fluently five or six languages, and had an inexhaustible fund of entertaining anecdotes with regard to Oriental affairs. In early life he had mixed more with the higher classes of the Mahometan inhabitants, than Franks in general are in the habit of doing; he wore their dress, and had acquired much of their tranquil philosophy and their dignity of appearance and manners.

The Jews at this time enjoyed great consideration at Aleppo, and were exempted from many of those injuries and indignities which the belief that they are under the displeasure of Heaven, has afforded men a convenient pretence for inflicting on them. This security they chiefly owed to the powerful family of Picciotto, who were strong in foreign protection, and whose wealth enabled them to hold under pecuniary obligations many of the great Turks of Aleppo, a notoriously prodigal race. The head of the family I have before mentioned as living in a sort of monastic retirement at Tabaria: the elder son Don Ezra* was Austrian consul, and the Russian and Prussian

* Who was afterwards killed by the falling of a house in the earthquake.

consulships were held by two younger brothers. From all these gentlemen I received very great civility and attention during my stay, and frequently went to their houses, especially on the day of their sabbath, when they received visits of ceremony. On these occasions the ladies of the family, some of whom were very pretty, made their appearance in their best dresses, which, with a few occasional variations, may be given as a specimen of the general costume of the wealthier classes throughout the empire. On their heads they wear a shawl turban studded with pearls and precious stones, with festoons of pearls hanging down on each side the face. On the bosom the under garment only appears, over which is worn a sort of gown called an *antari* or *compaz*, made straight to the shape, so as just to meet in front, and when accidentally parted, to show a thin gauze tunic and loose rose-coloured trowsers underneath. It has long hanging sleeves, and the edges are sometimes curiously embroidered in different colours. Over the *compaz* is a vest of rich stuff or silk coming down a little below the knees, and with sleeves cut off at the elbows, which is sometimes lined with fur, and forms a pelisse. A shawl is tied negligently round the figure below the waist, with a bow and ends depending on the left side. From the waist, which is very short, hangs a double row of gold coins, sometimes reaching nearly to the ground. The bracelets are of gold chains. The hair is cut off quite square on the forehead, with a long tress

hanging down on each side, and is wove behind into numerous plaits, which cover the whole of the back, and are tipped at the end with gold coins. Thus attired, these fair Jewesses sat on their divan to receive their guests, each with a Persian *nargillay* in her hand. Smoking is almost universally practised by the Aleppine ladies, and the greatest compliment that they can pay you is to transfer the pipe from their own lips to yours.

The climate of Aleppo is very good; the air clear, and so dry that in summer it is the universal custom of the inhabitants to sleep on the terraces of their houses. All the necessaries and luxuries of life are plentiful; game is very abundant in the neighbourhood; and there is excellent shooting, coursing, and hawking in the winter season. At this time the weather was too hot for any active amusements, and my exercise was confined to an occasional afternoon's ride, with M. Guys the French consul, to Monte Isoletto, a height at a little distance from the town, where we drank coffee and then rode back again. The mode of life of the Aleppines does not vary from that generally practised in the East. They get up very early, and pay visits soon after sunrise; dine at noon; take their *siesta* and a walk or ride afterwards, and sup about an hour after sunset. Before each meal aqua vitæ is handed round in small glasses, of which it is customary for each person to drink three, that being the magical number

which is supposed best to promote appetite and digestion.

About the end of May M. Deportes arrived at Aleppo, bringing with him a magnificent set of harness as a present from the French government to Kourschid Pasha, which was conveyed in grand procession to his palace at Shekh Abou-bekr, about a mile from the city. The Pasha received it very graciously, and in return made the French a present of several horses; one of which, a fine old white charger named Arslan, or "the Lion," he told us, was destined expressly for the king of France himself (Louis XVIII.), his great strength being supposed particularly to qualify him for the use of that corpulent monarch. Syria from its vicinity to the Desert might be supposed to abound in good horses; but they are as difficult to be met with there as in other places. The Bedouins sell their colts at two or three years old to the wealthy Turks in the cities, who, if they turn out well, ask immoderate prices for them. For one belonging to the Aga of Beyrout I know that 13000 piastres, (then worth about four hundred pounds,) was offered and refused. At five years old, too, they are almost all completely stiff in the hocks, from the violent method used of stopping and throwing them on their haunches. The breed of Desert horses is supposed by the residents in Syria to have considerably degenerated; nor is this to be wondered at, when we know that

the selection of stallions is guided by the most capricious rules. They are not chosen for their shape, action, or other qualities; but according to certain particular marks which are supposed to be of good omen. White legs, for example, are in high estimation, especially if there are two on the same side, because then, say they, the rider mounts and dismounts on a fortunate colour; and on the other hand, a horse without any white marks is thought so unlucky, that I have known several very good ones sold at a small price for no other reason. The particular turn too of the tufts of hair in the centre of the forehead, the breast, and other parts of the animal, affords ground for many whimsical auguries as to the fate of its owner.

When M. Deportes returned to Seida, I took the opportunity of accompanying him as far as Latakia, and on the 17th of June we left Aleppo with a very numerous cavalcade. Our own train consisted of about twenty horses; and in compliance with the custom of the place, the consuls and principal merchants rode with us for the first two or three miles. Knowing the inconvenience of lodging in private houses, especially at this hot season of the year, we had taken the precaution to provide ourselves with a tent, which we pitched the first night at Khan Toman, about four hours ride from Aleppo. The next day our route lay across a vast uncultivated plain, bounded by a range of hills sweeping round in a crescent. At the foot of

these we saw the white walls of Edlip, a village where we were to halt for the night; but there was no intervening resting-place, nor a single shrub or tree that could afford us any shade during the intense heat of the day. About noon we descried at some distance to the right of our track a green patch in this desert, to which we immediately directed our course, thinking we should find there a little grass and some water for our horses: but it turned out to our great disappointment, that, instead of herbage, the verdure was occasioned by a vast flight of locusts in their green state, which had settled on the spot.

The tract of country we were now passing over was, within the memory of man, populous and well cultivated; but the oppressive exactions of the Turkish governors, and the incursions of the Bedouins, have reduced it to a wilderness: most of the inhabitants are gone, and their frail habitations are fast mouldering into dust. Forty villages are said to have thus disappeared in the immediate neighbourhood of Aleppo within as many years; and those parts only of the Turkish empire are in a flourishing state, in which the extraordinary bounty of Nature triumphs over all the efforts of misgovernment. Wherever the soil is less generous, or the situation less secure, we invariably find poverty and depopulation.

19th.—Leaving Edlip we passed over a succession of hills and vales; and after a ride of eight hours

through intense heat, reached the large town of Jesir Shogher. Here we pitched our tent in a fine green meadow under the shade of some plane-trees, procured a large supply of frozen snow from the Aga's storehouses, and passed the evening in quaffing iced punch on the banks of the Orontes.

20th.—We crossed the range of hills which skirt the left bank of the river, and encamped in a woody glen near the source of the stream which flows down to Latakia, whose course we followed till we arrived at that place on the 22nd. The distance from Aleppo is estimated at forty hours, camel's pace, or about a hundred and twenty miles; but from the number of horses we had with us, and the badness of the roads, it took us six days to perform the journey.

On my arrival I found that there was not any vessel likely to sail for Cyprus in less than a fortnight or three weeks; so that I was obliged again to domiciliate myself in the house of Moossy Elias, which, notwithstanding the great civility and attention of my host and his family, was rather a dull abode. I found some resource, however, during this tedious detention, in the society of M. Lanusse the French consul, a very sensible and friendly man. He was now (as the principal Frank inhabitants are accustomed to do in the heats of summer,) residing under tents on the sea shore, at a few miles from the town, and I frequently visited his encampment. The French carry with them, wherever they

go, their characteristic fondness for gaiety and amusement; and on the evenings of the *jours de fête*, when the great heat of the day had declined, M. Lanusse and his family assembled round them their friends from the town, and a number of the neighbouring peasants; a supper, consisting of a variety of rural fare, was spread in the tents, the red Cyprus wine circulated freely, and the greater part of the night was passed in singing, in rustic sports, and in dancing by moonlight on the sands.

The time at length arrived for the ship to sail, and I was making preparations for my departure, when my schemes were again interrupted; a malaria fever attacked me suddenly while I was encamped at a little village called Fedoui, about five miles from Latakia; and in the course of a few hours I became so ill that I had considerable difficulty in getting back to the town. At first I had rather gloomy forebodings as to the result, not having very great faith in the skill of my friend Constantino, who was the only physician I could apply to; but he soon gained my confidence by the vigorous measures which he adopted. For several days I was bled, cupped, leeched, and blistered without mercy; and at the end of about a week the fever remitted and assumed the form of an ague, the hot and cold fits coming on regularly every day. In this stage of the disorder I suffered so much, that I intreated the doctor to put an end to it by giving me bark; but this he strenuously refused to do,

and continued to administer *tisanes*, or decoctions of herbs in great quantities for a week or ten days longer, when the attacks became much slighter, and a few doses of the stronger remedy completely removed them: I was left in a state of extreme weakness, but I am convinced that the cautious system of the Greek physician was the most judicious that could have been adopted: no permanent ill consequences resulted from the disorder, and I have never since had any returns of it, as happened to some of my acquaintance who were treated in a more summary way. I cannot refrain from saying, that during my illness I received the greatest attention from my host and his family, and also from the French consul; and I mention it as an instance of the friendly feeling that prevailed among travellers of different nations in this country, that the commander of a French squadron which anchored off Latakia (the Baron des Rotours), hearing that an English gentleman was dangerously ill, sent to offer the services of his own medical attendant.

At the end of about three weeks another vessel was ready to sail, and Dr. Constantino pronounced me able to undertake a sea-voyage. Though pleased with the prospect of setting my face once more towards home, yet I did not quit Syria without a feeling of regret. I had now been there nearly twelve months, and "in strange eyes had made me not a stranger." I had every where met with kindness and hospitality; had been watched

with care during sickness; and had lived in intimacy with many persons whose society had been very agreeable to me, but from whom I was now to be separated never in all probability to meet again. This is the most painful part of a traveller's lot, and on these occasions he will be inclined to say with the poet:

" Felice chi il piede mai non ha posato
Fuori di sua natia dolce terra;
Egli non ha il cuor fisso sugli oggetti,
Che di veder più non ha speranza,
E quel che vivo é morto non piange."

" Happy the man ne'er fated to explore
Remoter scenes, nor quit his native shore;
From foreign ties his tranquil heart is free,
Nor fixed on those he never more must see;
He broods not over joys for ever fled,
Nor mourns the living as he mourns the dead."

CHAPTER XVII.

CYPRUS.—RHODES.—SMYRNA.

On the evening of the 30th July I embarked in company with the Rev. Mr. Connor, an English missionary, on board a small brig bound for Cyprus. On the morning of the 1st of August we were in sight of the island, but it took us two days more to reach Larnaca, the principal port and commercial depôt, which is situated near its southern extremity. We remained there three days, lodging at a house belonging to M. Vondiziano, the English vice-consul. My late illness was too fresh in my recollection to allow me to expose myself much to the air of Cyprus, which at this season is thought very unhealthy; and all I know of the island is, that I could see from my windows an extensive plain bounded by a range of mountains stretching across from east to west. At the foot of these is situated Nicosia, the place of residence of the Greek archbishop, who before the revolution had the government almost entirely in his own hands, the Turkish authorities interfering very little with the management of it. The population of Cyprus, indeed, was almost exclusively Greek, there being few Turks or Armenians, and Jews being by ancient custom prohibited from settling there. The number of inhabitants, which is said in former times to

have amounted to a million, had now sunk to seventy or eighty thousand; and in consequence of this diminution a great proportion of the land had been thrown out of cultivation, and become subject to malaria. The natural soil is fertile, and capable of producing almost every article of consumption, and the island in the hands of a powerful maritime nation might become the key to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The chief production now is wine, of which there are several qualities. The red kinds are sound and full-flavoured; but the most celebrated is the white wine called *vino della commanderia* (from its having been originally made on vineyards belonging to the knights of St. John), which resembles in taste the *vino d'oro* of Mount Lebanon, or the Mountain of our cellars. It is exceedingly strong, and will keep and continue to improve till a very great age. Cyprus is still a place of some commercial importance, and most of the European states have consuls at Larnaca. I there parted with my Arabic interpreter Giorgio Luigi, who returned to Cairo.

A Greek brig bound to the Morea was lying in the harbour, and we agreed with the captain for three hundred piastres to convey us to Rhodes. We sailed in the evening of the 5th of August, but the wind was so baffling that we did not clear the western point of the island till the 10th, when it shifted a little to the southward and we stood away to the coast of Caramania. On the 12th about

sunset we came in view of the promontory of Cape Chelidoné, on the western side of the gulf of Satalia; from whence to the entrance of the gulf of Macri is the most picturesque and magnificent line of coast that I ever sailed along. Bold cliffs skirt the shore, and their outline is broken by the summits of lofty mountains in the interior. We wished much to have visited some of the curious remains of antiquity which are to be found in this part of ancient Lycia, but we could not prevail upon our captain to deviate from his course. The winds were in general so contrary, that he did not like to lose a moment of a favourable breeze; and as it was, we did not reach Rhodes till the 18th of August, fourteen days after leaving Larnaca, having touched at only one place during our voyage.

The town of Rhodes is situated at the northern extremity of the island, on the side of a hill which slopes down to the sea. It has a very antique appearance, one street especially, (the *Strada dei Cavalieri,*) is nearly in the same state as in the time of the Knights, the door of each house being still surmounted by an escutcheon with the coat of arms of its ancient inhabitant, and the names of several remaining inscribed on the walls. These hardy warriors seem to have been contented with indifferent lodgings, the houses being so small and mean that they are now occupied only by persons of the lower class. At the upper end of the street is the cathedral church of St. John, now converted into a

mosque, and there are remains of several other churches, particularly of that of the Madonna della Victoria, built by the Grand-master Dubuisson, after the repulse of the Turks in 1480. The fortifications which are carried along the crown of the hill, are very strong. The ramparts are faced with brick, and there is a deep and wide ditch with several outworks. The Turks keep them in good repair, and the guns remain probably in the same places that they occupied during the siege. The port is surrounded by walls, and the entrance, which is very narrow, is defended by two massive towers. It was formerly protected from the north winds by a mole, but that has fallen to decay.

The suburbs are much more extensive than the town itself, and all the inhabitants of the higher class reside there. The Christians, who are not allowed to live within the walls, have a quarter to themselves called the *villagio novo,* where there is a convent of the Terra Santa, in which we lodged. It was a small building consisting only of a corridor and one range of apartments, but it was in a fine airy situation near the sea. The environs of Rhodes are exceedingly beautiful. Woody slopes interspersed with villas and kiosks, the broad channel which separates the island from the main, and the rocky shores and lofty mountains of Asia Minor beyond it, form perpetual combinations of rich foreground with bold and romantic distance.

The island is estimated to contain about forty

thousand inhabitants, of whom the greater number reside in the town and immediate neighbourhood, and the remainder are distributed through forty or fifty villages in the interior. They are almost all Greeks, but are kept in great awe by a handfull of Turks. In riding out one evening to the village of Trianda where Mr. Masse the English vice-consul had a country-house, we met a number of peasants bringing provisions and wine into the town. I observed that when they approached us they all dismounted from their mules, and remained standing till we had passed by; and on inquiry I found that from my dress they took me for a Turk, and that this was a mark of subjection which they were obliged to show to their masters. The population is trifling compared with the extent of the island, but agriculture is at so low an ebb, that the fertile plains in the interior do not produce more corn than is sufficient for six months consumption. Many of the inhabitants are employed in ship-building in the Turkish dock-yard, and others in cultivating the vineyards, which produce some very pleasant light red wines. The governor of the island has the title of Bey: he generally holds his office for life; and to this circumstance perhaps it is owing that the people are less oppressed than in many parts of the empire.

Soon after our arrival at Rhodes we engaged a small Ionian vessel, the Speranza, Captain Anastasio Sclavó, to convey us to Scala Nova, but the wind

blew for a fortnight incessantly from the north-west, so that it was impossible to get out of the channel. The delightful situation of our quarters, however, very well reconciled us to the delay. On the 2nd of September the breeze becoming more favourable, we sailed, but we had still to contend with a very heavy sea. We passed close under Syma, a little island with one solitary village built on the side of a steep hill. The male inhabitants are chiefly fishermen, and bear the character of expert divers. Many of the women emigrate to Rhodes, and are employed there as servants. They are remarkable for their very singular head-dress, consisting of a great quantity of small handkerchiefs tied one over the other. They begin with one or two, and as their wealth accumulates increase the number, till the head is at last swelled out to an enormous size and most uncouth shape.

September 3rd.—We were becalmed, and had the opportunity of contemplating at our leisure the fine outline of the cliffs and mountains on the coast of Caria.

4th.—The calm still continuing with a heavy swell, early in the morning we left the vessel, and rowed in the boat to Cape Crio, the ancient Cnidus, where we landed. Cape Crio is a peninsula of a conical form, united by an isthmus to the main land, which slopes down to the south-west. On this slope the ancient city was situated, and it is still covered with ruins. Capitals, altars, and other

fragments are scattered over its whole surface, and the foundations of several buildings are to be traced among the myrtles and other shrubs with which the whole site is thickly overgrown. There were two ports, divided from each other by the isthmus, on the northern side of which there was also an inner port or basin defended by round towers.

About noon the vessel had succeeded in working round the promontory, and we re-embarked and sailed up the gulf of Cos or Stanchio, which being skirted by lofty hills to the eastward, and shut up on the west by the island from which it takes its name, has the appearance of a large lake. We passed within sight of the principal town in the island, which stands close to the shore and is surrounded by lofty groves of planes and sycamores. The breeze freshened towards the evening, and at dark we anchored under the castle* of Boudroun, the ancient Halicarnassus.

5th.—We went on shore early in the morning. The town is small and miserable, although the Turks have a dock-yard there, in which a large two-decked ship was now building. The only person we found in the place who could speak Italian was a Jewish shopkeeper in the bazar, a self-appointed agent or consul, as he called himself, for European travellers. As we were very anxious to

* The knights of Rhodes established themselves at Halicarnassus, and built the castle, which they called St. Pedro, a name which the Turks have corrupted into Boudroun.

get into the castle, we went to the Turkish Aga to ask his permission. He received us with great politeness, but excused himself from complying with our request, saying that we must apply to the Disdar or governor, who was gone into the country, but would return in the course of the day. I suspected that this was merely a pretence on the part of the Aga for not granting us the permission that we desired, and which he did not like positively to refuse; and after waiting for several hours, I again had recourse to the Jew, and at his suggestion (though he would not venture to accompany us himself) we went out in a boat rowed by our own crew to the outer angle of the fortress, where the *fossé* opens upon the sea. Here we landed and proceeded to survey the castle, which is very large and of the most solid construction. At first we were a little apprehensive, but not finding any sentinel or other person to interrupt us, we gradually ascended from one line of ramparts to another, till at last we reached the high tower in the centre of the building, and might, if we had chosen, have carried away the red flag that was waving there. After this specimen of the vigilance of a Turkish garrison we felt quite at our ease, and proceeded at leisure to examine the beautiful remains of ancient sculpture which are worked into the wall and counterscarp. They consist of various fragments of bas-relief, representing a conflict between Greeks and Amazons. It is an obvious supposition that they were ornaments of the mau-

soleum erected by Artemisia; but from their style they may be conjectured to be of a later date than the frieze of the Parthenon. They are certainly of a period when sculpture had attained the highest point of beauty and of force; the spirit of the action and symmetry of the figures is unrivalled, and persons much better qualified to judge than I am, have pronounced them to be the most exquisite specimens of Grecian art;—yet they are almost unknown, in consequence of being placed in a situation so little accessible. Several attempts have been made to remove them, but all have failed; and in proportion to the anxiety which the Franks evince to possess them, will be the reluctance of the Turks to give them up. Things which to them appear so worthless, but which they see so much coveted, they will naturally suppose to possess some hidden and mysterious value.

6th.—We set sail early in the morning, and after quitting the gulf coasted the Ionian shore with a light but favourable breeze. About three o'clock we were surprised by a great darkness coming on without any appearance of clouds, and we soon found that it was owing to the progress of an eclipse which in a short time became total, and lasted for several minutes. In the evening we were near the southern entrance of the straits which divide Samos from the main land, the woody mountains of the island rising majestically before us.

7th.—We passed through the channel, and landed about noon at Scala Nova, the ancient Neapolis, a large trading town, but possessing little to attract the notice of a traveller. We left it in the evening, and after about two hours ride over hills descended into the plain of the Cayster. We there left our baggage horses to cross the river and proceed directly on towards Smyrna, while we ourselves with only one attendant took an eastern course along the plain, intending to halt for the night at Aiasaluk, in order to see the remains of Ephesus on the following day. We had scarcely parted from our train (which in consequence of the accumulation of baggage during a long tour was rather numerous), when the sky, which had threatened rain during the whole evening, became more lowering; the clouds darkened, and the thunder was heard rolling over the distant mountains. In a short time the storm burst upon us with all its vengeance, the lightning flashing from every side and illuminating the whole circle of the horizon. In the intervals all was utter darkness; and as we had only a slight track to guide us, and could not see any distant objects, we were almost afraid to stir lest we should fall into one of the numerous rivulets and ditches which intersect the plain. It was only when the atmosphere was enlightened by a sudden flash that we could venture to advance a few yards, and we were then obliged to halt and wait for another.

In this way we wandered about till midnight, the rain falling in torrents the whole time, when at length we discovered a light in the distance. We followed its direction, and found it to proceed from an open coffee-house, where some of the inhabitants of Aiasaluk, whom the fury of the storm deterred from retiring to rest, were seated round a large fire. Here we took refuge, dried our clothes which were completely drenched with the rain, and after the never-failing restorative of a pipe and coffee, lay down to sleep on some mats spread on the floor.

At Aiasaluk there are the ruins of the ancient castle, but the sculptured figures over the gateway have been removed. There is also a fine mosque of Saracenic architecture now deserted and falling to decay. Ephesus was situated about two miles to the westward of Aiasaluk, at the foot of a chain of mountains which bound the southern side of the plain. The theatre and stadium are easily discernible, and there are some walls and arches to which different names have been given by successive antiquaries; but all attempts to ascertain the site of the great temple of Diana have hitherto been fruitless.

We crossed the Cayster at a ferry about two miles from the sea, and came up with our servants at a large khan. They had arrived there the preceding night; but on their way several of the horses, terrified by the fury of the storm, had broke loose and escaped into the mountains; and they had been obliged to retrace their steps, and to spend great

part of the day in recovering them and collecting the scattered baggage.

9th.—We crossed an extensive plain to Sedicui, and in the afternoon arrived at Smyrna, where, after an interval of nearly two years since my former visit, I was glad to find myself once more in the hospitable house of Mr. Brant, and to meet with several of my old acquaintance, who kindly welcomed my return.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARCHIPELAGO.—ATHENS.—ZANTE.

After a month passed very pleasantly at Smyrna, I set out on the 8th of October, and proceeded to Chesmé, making a *detour* from the main road to visit the ruins of the ancient Teos, which consist of little more than a heap of fine Ionic fragments intermixed with olive and bay-trees. A large theatre and a temple may be traced, but scarcely one stone remains upon another.

A passage of about two hours conveyed me from Chesmé to Scio, at that time the most flourishing of the Greek islands. The principal town, which was situated opposite to the main land, was large and populous, and surrounded on all sides by gardens and villas. Many of the latter belonged to retired Greek merchants, who having made their fortunes either at Smyrna, Trieste, or Leghorn, had come to pass the remainder of their lives in their native island. To one of these, Signor Rodokanaiki, I had a letter of introduction; and he invited me to his house, which was fitted up in the European style, and contained a library furnished with the best French and Italian works. I met there the well-known Professor Vamva (Βαμβας), the director and chief promoter of the system of education which was

established at Scio, and which has been supposed to have had some influence in bringing about the revolution to which that unhappy island soon afterwards became a victim. The Professor himself, I believe, did not anticipate any such event, and would rather have owed the liberation of his countrymen to the increased power and influence which would arise from the gradual spread of knowledge among them, than to any of those violent insurrectionary movements which must always be productive of an accumulation of crime and misery scarcely to be compensated even by the most successful result. Accompanied by Vamva I visited the schools and college, which were frequented by nearly 700 pupils, some of them native Sciots, and others resorting from the islands and provinces of Greece, and from the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. The instruction in the schools was confined chiefly to the ancient and modern Greek languages, but in the college it was of a much more extended character. Thirteen professors gave daily lectures in mathematical and physical science and in modern languages; there was a laboratory and a sufficient collection of philosophical apparatus, and an extensive library, which on certain days was open to the public at large. A press also had lately been established, which was at present chiefly employed in printing books for the use of the students, but which probably had for its ulterior object the diffusion of knowledge generally throughout Greece.

The annual expense of these institutions was estimated atabout 45,000 piastres, then worth about 1500*l.* sterling; which was defrayed partly by a duty on exports and imports, partly by voluntary subscription, and partly by a tax of one per cent upon marriage portions,—the state thus obliging all persons to contribute beforehand towards providing the means of education for their future progeny.

Though the neighbourhood of the town and the coast generally of Scio was rich and well cultivated, the ridge of mountains which runs through it from north to south had the naked and barren appearance which is common to almost all the islands of the Archipelago. On the eastern side of the mountain were the mastic trees, which afforded the chief article of export. They grew only on one particular spot, and were cultivated by the inhabitants of some little villages in the neighbourhood, no stranger being allowed to approach without permission from the Turkish governor. The mastic is a shrub very much resembling the common lentisk, but with broader leaves. The gum is collected in August and September; an incision being made in the bark, it drops on the ground and hardens. A large quantity was sent to Constantinople as a tribute to the Sultana, to whom the revenues of the island belonged; and the remainder was monopolized by the governor, who had the right of pre-emption and who retailed it at high prices.

The population of Scio consisted almost en-

tirely of Greek schismatics. The numbers of the Catholics had of late years very much diminished; and there were only about 2000 Turks in the island, most of whom lived in the castle. The government, like that of the Greek islands and towns generally, was in the hands of a few persons elected from among the more wealthy inhabitants, and called Primates. The Sciote women had the reputation of beauty; and their faces were certainly handsome and animated. The national costume, which was very unbecoming to the figure, consisting of a loose jacket stuffed and quilted to two inches in thickness, had almost disappeared, and had given place to a close spencer. This was generally made of light green silk; and though the Turks, who did not like to see the daughters of the Giaour arrayed in the sacred colour, had made several attempts to prevent them from wearing it, they had never been able to succeed against female perseverance. The national head-dress was still preserved;—a close cap of green cloth or velvet, sometimes embroidered with gold, and the hair frizzed out in a large bush on each side. The custom of blacking the eyebrows, so general in the East, did not prevail here, but the cheeks were highly painted. The young women had a great playfulness and freedom of manners; and I do not recollect ever to have witnessed in the Levant a gayer scene than the Sunday evening's promenade on the sea-shore. I little thought that of these smiling girls some would in a few months be fu-

gitives and exiles, others sold into slavery, and others massacred in ways too horrid for contemplation.

16th.—A saccoleva bound for Naxia was lying in the port of Scio, and I engaged a passage on board, stipulating with the master that he should touch at Tino and Myconæ. We sailed in the middle of the day with a fair wind, and anchored in the evening in a bay at the southern extremity of the island.

17th.—Soon after midnight we weighed anchor with a light breeze, which died away at noon and left us becalmed under a scorching sun. The European and Asiatic shores were both in sight, and before us was a range of islands which appeared to form a barrier across the Archipelago. At sunset the breeze again sprung up; but the sailors mistaking their course during the night, in the morning we found ourselves close under the northern shore of Tino, and were obliged to spend great part of the day in working round to St. Nicola, the principal port, which is situated at the opposite side of the island.

Tino is throughout rocky and mountainous; but it is cultivated with great care, the ground being laid up in terraces quite to the tops of the hills. Most of the inhabitants have passed their youth in the capacity of domestic servants in the Christian families at Smyrna and Constantinople; and having acquired a competence have returned to settle in their native country, and have brought back with them habits of industry and frugality. The estates

are small, and it is an established rule that no one can be sold without being first offered to the neighbouring proprietor; who if not rich enough himself, will frequently borrow money to purchase it, and return again to servitude till he has acquired enough to pay the debt. The population is about twenty thousand, exclusively Greek, the schismatics exceeding the Catholics by three or four thousand. There are sixty-four villages, each of which appoints a deputy, and the deputies elect four primates, who have the direction of the government. These were formerly chosen from among the merchants of St. Nicola, who were supposed to be the most intelligent persons in the island and best qualified for the management of affairs; but some years ago the system was changed. The landed proprietors thought it deprived them of their due share of influence, and succeeded after a struggle in electing the primates from among themselves. In an excursion which I made into the interior I met one of these representatives of the squirearchy of Tino, dressed in a white jacket and nightcap, and riding on a mule without saddle or bridle. A Turkish Aga resided at the castle of St. Nicola; but he never interfered in affairs except applied to by the local authorities, and had little to do but to receive his salary and smoke his pipe.

21st.—Myconæ is divided from Tino by a narrow channel, which we were about two hours in crossing with a light breeze. The principal town

is built in the shape of a crescent along the shore of a bay which opens to the westward. The surface of the island is more level than that of Tino, but the soil is unproductive; there is a scarcity of water, and hardly a tree to be seen. The inhabitants are almost all mariners, and are reckoned among the most skilful of the Archipelago. Neither themselves nor their children ever condescend to service like their Teniote neighbours; but few of them are employed in agriculture, and the island is badly cultivated. The population is estimated at six or seven thousand. The costume of the women is the most singular and the most picturesque of any in the Greek islands. They wear a coloured jacket with very full white sleeves *à l'evesque*, and over it a sort of braces crossed behind with a large knot or button. Their head-dress is a turban of red plush with a large lappet hanging down the back; the petticoat comes no lower than the knee; the slippers are of various colours, and have high wooden heels; the stockings are either red, blue, or black; sometimes one is of one colour and the other of another; and a stout leg being thought a beauty, those of the fair Myconiotes, to whom Nature has not been bountiful in that respect, generally put on several pair.

24th.—I made an excursion to Delos, which is now a desolate and uninhabited island. It is intersected from north to south by Mount Cynthus, and the plain on the western side is thickly strewed with

the ruins of ancient buildings. Scarcely a fragment is standing; but it is easy to trace the remains of a theatre, a circus, several reservoirs, and a large temple (supposed to be that of Apollo),with columns partially fluted like those at Sardis*.

27th.—We sailed from Myconæ, and early the next morning landed at Naxia. This island is the largest of the Cyclades; the principal town is on the western side, built partly on the beach and partly on a high and steep cliff. The upper part is called the Castro, and is occupied entirely by the aristocracy, the Sommarivas descended from the dukes of the Archipelago, the Sforzas, the Crespis, the Barozzis, &c., who though fallen into poverty and decay, still value themselves highly on their ancestry and their profession of the Catholic religion, and hold in great contempt the plebeians and schismatics of the lower town.—The English vice-consul Signor Nicola Frangopouli, with whom I lodged, was of a noble family; and though very hospitable and ceremoniously polite, was fully impressed with the dignity of his high birth as well as of his high office. In the Castro there is a very handsome cathedral and two large convents; monuments of the former importance of the place, when it was the seat of government of the Archipelago. The weather was so bad during my stay at Naxia that I could see very little of the island. It is girt with high rocks; but the plains in the in-

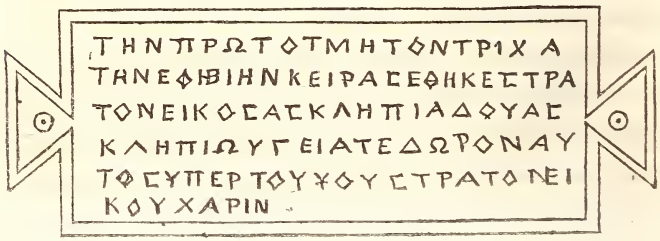
*See page 53.

terior are very fertile, and the vineyards on the slopes of the hills produce a variety of wines, some of which do not disgrace the favourite abode of Bacchus.

The greater part of the islands in the Archipelago were under the jurisdiction of the Captain Pasha, and his dragoman, the Greek prince Nicola Morousi was making a progress through them, and was now at Naxia. These visits were the signals for *avaniahs,* which were extorted under every possible pretext, and the unfortunate inhabitants had as little forbearance to expect from their own countrymen as from the Turks. Morousi on this occasion assumed as much consequence of manner and pomp of appearance as if he had been the Captain Pasha himself. He wore a splendid Galiongí dress, and was surrounded by seventy or eighty hungry Greeks, who behaved to him with the greatest obsequiousness, and indemnified themselves by a corresponding insolence to the islanders. He was a young man, of about twenty-five, spoke French very well, and was exceedingly polite though fully imbued with national vanity. His career was short, as he was one of the earliest victims of the revolution, and was put to death at Constantinople a few months after I saw him, with circumstances of singular cruelty.

Nov. 1st.—I engaged an open row boat to take me to Paros. The harbour of Ausa which lies opposite to Naxia is large, but being exposed to the northerly winds it is little frequented. We coasted the island till we arrived at Parrychia, the principal

town and port, but a wretched place. The cathedral is very ancient, and is said to have been built by the architect of St. Sophia. It is in the shape of a Greek cross with a cupola in the centre, and chapels at each of the angles, and in front there is a court surrounded by a colonnade. The castle, which stands on a slight elevation near the town, is constructed almost entirely of ancient marbles of rude workmanship, the remains of some large temple of the Doric order. The surface of the island is divided by a range of high mountains. It is tolerably fertile, producing both wine and corn; but the total want of wood gives it a naked and desolate appearance. The marble quarries are excavated in a mountain near the coast: they extend to a great length, but are low and narrow, scarcely allowing room for more than one person to go in at a time. The site of a temple had lately been discovered on an eminence near the town and at about three hundred yards from the sea-shore. It was of the Doric order, and from some inscriptions found on a block of marble seems to have been dedicated to Esculapius. They refer to the custom of the parent offering the first cut lock of his child's hair to that divinity and to Hygeia.



Antiparos is separated from the sister-island by a narrow channel. Its inhabitants are not more than two hundred in number, all living in one village; and the greater part of the land is overgrown with wild thyme and mastic bushes, and affords pasturage only to a few goats. The grotto is at the southern end of the island, about an hour and a half's ride from the village. At the entrance to it there is a small chapel. The descent is at first sloping and very slippery, and we supported ourselves by a cord stretched out by the side of the path. It afterwards becomes nearly perpendicular, and a ladder is necessary. The grotto rather disappointed my expectation. Its beauty has been much injured, by many of the finer petrifactions having been broken off to be carried away as relics, and the whole of the interior is blackened by the smoke of torches. To see it to advantage would require at least a hundred lights placed in different directions behind the stalactites, which would then have the appearance of pendant alabaster lamps.

Soon after my arrival at Parrychia I engaged a vessel lying in the port to convey me to Athens. It was of the class called Trebaccala, rigged with two square sails which are attached to the masts by rings, and are raised and lowered very expeditiously. The wind however was so contrary and the weather so squally, that I was detained nearly a week in the house of the English agent, a Greek named Sardy. Time passed very heavily, as the rain confined me

almost constantly to my quarters, which were not the most comfortable. In the evenings I sometimes amused myself by giving a ball, which in the Greek islands is a matter of very little expense or difficulty. It is only to send for a musician and a cake of Halváh *, and the young women will flock in without further invitation, and dance for hours with as much alacrity as if inspired by Gunter or Colinet.

Nov. 6th.—We set sail, and were scarcely out of the harbour when the wind became so strong against us that we were obliged to put back again, and it was not till the 8th that we finally got clear of the island. In the evening we were off Syra, and we passed the night in beating through the channel between Thermia and Zea with a head-wind and very heavy sea, our boat not being very well qualified to contend with either.

9th.—In the morning the wind shifting a little to the southward, our progress was more rapid. We saw from afar the white columns of the temple of Minerva Sunias, and—

" Hail'd the gay clime of battle and of song."

About noon we were close under Cape Colonna; when just as we were preparing to drop the anchor, one of those sudden squalls which are frequent in the Archipelago came from off the land. We were obliged instantly to lower the sails, to put the ves-

* The common cake of the Levant, composed chiefly I believe, of honey, and very sweet and sickly.

sel about, and let her drift before the wind, which blew a hurricane from the north-west accompanied by a violent torrent of rain, and in about an hour and a half drove us back to Zea, where there is a small but secure port protected on all sides by high hills.

10th.—We walked up to the town, which is about a mile from the shore in a very picturesque situation, the houses being scattered on the side of a deep glen. It has a small castle, which was occupied by the English vice-consul Signor Pangolo and his family, with whom we dined and passed the day. Zea contains about six thousand inhabitants. It is better cultivated than most of the neighbouring islands, and its wines, if they can be procured pure, are perhaps the best that the Archipelago produces, but, like the rest, they are almost always strongly impregnated with rosin.

11th and 12th.—It continued to blow violently from the north-west, and we could not leave the harbour.

13th.—The wind having shifted to the north-east, we sailed in the morning, and in three hours arrived once more off Cape Colonna. This time we succeeded in landing in the little port of Sunium, and climbed up the cliffs, which are steep though not lofty, to the temple of Minerva. Of this edifice, which appears to have been as beautiful in its design as remarkable from its position, there are now but small remains. Nine columns only are standing

on the south-west side, three on the north-east, and three in the front, which faced the angle of the promontory. They are of the Doric order; and their brilliant white colour, occasioned probably by the effect of the sea air on the marble, makes them conspicuous at a great distance. Their situation is most beautiful; placed amid a shrubbery of evergreens on the brow of the cliff, they command a view over the whole of the southern part of the Archipelago, which was now enlivened by the white sails of the numerous vessels, the ευφορται νηες πελαγιτιδες, just escaped from port after the late storm.

In the evening we sailed up the gulf, and anchored under the western point of Egina; and the next morning we anchored within the mole of the ancient city, near to which, within the last thirty years, a new town has sprung up, consisting of about a hundred houses, with some large magazines. An Albanian in the service of the Captain Pacha resided there as governor, and he very civilly supplied us with horses to ride to the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, which is situated at the eastern extremity of the island. The road lay through a picturesque valley, and on our right we saw the old town supposed by Chandler to be the ancient Oea, on the side of a steep hill. The eastern shore of the island is steep and rugged, and thickly covered with oaks, pines, and evergreen shrubs. On an eminence among these, commanding a fine view of the gulf with its islands, the shores of Attica, and

the Acropolis of Athens, is situated the temple which is supposed to be one of the most ancient specimens of the Doric order. It is built of grey stone, and appears to have been covered with stucco. The entablature and part of the building was thrown down by an earthquake, which buried also the celebrated statues in the pediment since recovered by Mr. Cockerell and his associates; but by the caprice of Nature those parts which remain are but little injured. About thirty columns are still standing, and form a singularly picturesque group.

On our return to the town we supped with the Albanian Aga, who made so free with some rum which we presented to him, that he was obliged at last to be carried off by his servants.—The next morning we sailed with a favourable wind, and in about three hours I arrived once more in the Piræus. A voyage in the Archipelago performed in the boats of the country is at this time of year exceedingly tedious and uncomfortable. The accommodations on board them are very bad; their awkward shapes and unwieldy rigging, combined with the timidity and unskilfulness of the sailors, render them quite unfit to contend with bad weather and contrary winds, and of course subject the passenger to long and frequent detentions, which generally happen in those islands where he would the least wish to stay. After five weeks therefore spent thus unsatisfactorily, I was glad to find myself

at Athens, comfortably lodged in a detached house belonging to Signor Francesco Vitali.

Athens was at this time a most delightful resting-place, and it was not simply to the recollections or to the relics of antiquity that it owed its attractions. A variety of happy circumstances conspired to give it that indescribable charm which induced many travellers to while away months there without any determinate object, and permitted few to leave it without unfeigned regret. Placed in the centre of a dry and healthy plain, which is protected on the north and east by mountains, and open to the sea on the south, the climate, with the exception of a few weeks of rain and storms early in the year and of intense heat in the height of summer, may be called a perpetual spring: the skies are often for days together without a cloud; the trees being all evergreen banish the idea of winter; and the turf at Christmas is covered with anemonies in full bloom. The surrounding scenery, if not of the grandest, is of the most beautiful order, and it is peculiarly characterized by an air of tranquillity and repose. The mountains slope gently down and melt almost imperceptibly into the plain; the sea, broken by promontories and islands, exhibits the placid surface of a lake; the ground, though it cannot boast of any rich verdure, harmonizes in colour with the pale green of the woods and the clear blue of the atmosphere; and the majestic remains of antiquity

combine happily with the landscape, and present themselves at every step in a new and picturesque point of view. He who has once stood on the hill of the Museum, and has seen the long range of Mount Hymettus tinged with the purple hue of the heath and wild thyme*, the cone-shaped Anchesmus rising gracefully from the plain, and the airy summit of Pentelicus beyond it; the solitary columns of the temple of Jupiter, the golden-tinted Parthenon, and the rocky hill of the Areopagus; the vast olive grove changing its hue perpetually from the brightest to the darkest green as the light clouds flit over it; the pine-covered slopes of Mount Parnes, the distant summits of Parnassus, the acropolis of Corinth, and the mountains of the Peloponnesus; the port of the Piræus, and the gulf of Salamis with its indented shores,—will never forget the impression produced by an assemblage of objects as unique perhaps with regard to natural beauty as to classical interest.

The antiquities of Athens are too well known to need a minute description, but I cannot pass them over without some slight notice†. Though few in

* "Purpureos colles florentis Hymetti." Ovid, *Ars Am.* lib. iii. The name of the mountain has undergone a singular fate. From *Monte Imetto* the Italians corrupted it into *Monte Matto*, and the Greeks have again translated the Italian literally, and call it Τρελο Βουνό, "The Mad Mountain."

† The reader who may be desirous of more information is referred to the fine plates of Stuart, and to the excellent Topography of Athens, by Colonel Leake, who has illustrated the subject with his usual learning, accuracy, and clearness.

number, they are the most beautiful as well as the most curious in existence. Unlike the vast masses of brick-work which we see at Rome, and which, having been despoiled of their original rich casing, remain now in naked deformity, the Athenian buildings are, with one or two exceptions, of solid marble, nor are there any neighbouring *chef-d'œuvres* of modern architecture to distract our attention or to share our admiration. The temple of Theseus is an almost perfect model of the Doric order; for though most of the ornaments have been removed or defaced, the architectural part of the building remains entire, with the exception of the roof of the cella, and of the porticos. It has six columns at each of the fronts, and thirteen at each of the sides, making together thirty-four, and their height is about nineteen feet. It has also within the porticos a pronaos and posticum, each with two columns in Antis. The statues have wholly disappeared from the eastern pediment, and there are no traces of any having ever been placed in the western. There are eighteen sculptured metopes and two friezes much mutilated, which are explained to represent the labours of Hercules and of Theseus, the wars of the giants, and the combats of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. The temple of Theseus was built by Cimon son of Miltiades, in compliance with the injunction of the Pythian oracle, thirty or forty years before the Parthenon was begun. It is now a Greek church dedicated to St.

George, whose exploits are probably supposed to bear some analogy to those of the Athenian hero; and of late years it has been the burial-place for the English who have died in Greece. Mr. Walpole's Greek pentameters are inscribed on the stone which covers Tweddell's remains, and a Latin inscription of equal length commemorates the more humble merits of an English lady's waiting-maid who reposes beside him.

On the opposite side of the Acropolis, near the banks of the Ilissus and a fountain which still retains the poetical name of Callirrhoe, there is a group of marble columns standing on a raised platform. They are sixteen in number, six feet in diameter, and more than sixty feet high; the remains of a vast edifice, which was surrounded by a peristyle of a hundred and twenty columns of similar dimensions. There seems to be little doubt that it was the temple of Jupiter Olympius, begun by Pisistratus and finished about six hundred years afterwards by Adrian. The columns are perhaps the finest specimens of the ancient Corinthian order now in existence, and their effect is the more imposing from their solitary situation, without the walls of the modern town and detached from all other buildings. At a small distance from these columns is a Corinthian arch of much smaller proportions, but in good preservation. It now stands in the line of the modern wall, and serves for an entrance to the town; but it was originally, as appears from the

inscription on each front, a boundary to distinguish the more ancient part of Athens from that which was rebuilt and beautified by Adrian and called after his name.

One of the most conspicuous of the Athenian ruins is the monument of Philopappus on the summit of the hill of the Museum. It was built by a Syrian of that name, a descendant of the Antiochi, and was ornamented with statues of himself and some of his ancestors placed in niches, and a bas-relief representing a triumph of the Emperor Trajan, in whose reign he flourished. One third part of the building has fallen down, and the sculptures are much mutilated. The figures are in Roman dresses, and appear to have been executed with considerable spirit.

The octagonal tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, vulgarly called the Tower of the Winds, was intended to answer the manifold purpose of a weathercock, a sundial, and a waterclock. It is exceedingly curious as being the only ancient building of the kind remaining, and as being very accurately described by the ancient authors ; but it possesses little architectural beauty, and the bas-relief figures on the eight sides, however ingenious as emblems of the different winds they are intended to represent, have little elegance of design, and look much better in Stuart's engravings than in the original marble. The tower, being in the heart of the modern town, is much blackened by the smoke from

the surrounding houses; but in other respects it is very well preserved, having been appropriated as a Tekeh or chapel for a college of whirling dervishes.

The choragic monument of Lysicrates, commonly called the Lantern of Demosthenes, is, or was, a little relic of exquisite beauty. A square basement supported a small circular structure composed of six slender fluted Corinthian pillars, the intervals of which were filled up with marble panels. The capitals were of most delicate workmanship; the frieze was ornamented with highly finished bas-reliefs representing the story of Bacchus and the Tyrrhenian pirates *, and the whole was surmounted by a Tholus or cupola of one block of marble, carved on the outside in imitation of leaves, and terminating at the apex in a rich and highly finished flower. This monument was exactly in such a state of preservation as left no uncertainty with regard to its general effect, but gave ample employment to the ingenuity of artists in endeavouring to restore the details of particular parts. It was partially inclosed by the walls of the Capuchin convent; and one of the panels having been removed, the interior, which was about six feet in diameter, formed a closet in an adjoining apartment. The circumstance to which it for many years owed its security, has since been, I fear, the cause of its destruction. The convent was burnt down during the siege, and

* See Ovid. Metam. iii. 605.

so delicate a work of art could hardly escape without material injury.

Besides these, which are the most important of the Athenian remains without the Acropolis, there is a Doric gateway, supposed to have been the entrance to the new Agora or market-place, and a large walled enclosure with a Corinthian colonnade, which has been taken for the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but which it seems now agreed to call the Stoa or porch of Adrian. The Ionic columns at the foot of Mount Anchesmus, and the temple of the same order on the banks of the Ilissus, which are given in Stuart's work, have since disappeared; the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, which he mistook for the theatre of Bacchus, is deprived of its marble casing, and the rough hewn stone arches alone remain; and the theatre of Bacchus itself, though its site seems to be satisfactorily ascertained, might be passed without notice by an ordinary observer. The Areopagus is now a naked rock without a single habitation; the Pnyx, with its βημα or pulpit, has been brought to light by some modern excavations; and the stadium, though entirely stripped of its marble seats, retains its form unimpaired. The site of the Lyceum must be left wholly to conjecture; but that of the rival school may be referred to some gardens amid the olive grove, which are still called "Akadhemia."

The approach to the Acropolis is at the north-western angle of the rock, and is probably the same

which was used by the horses and carriages of the ancient Athenians. The steps by which foot passengers ascended may still be traced, but they led to an entrance now closed up. The Propylæa of the citadel, which were among the most renowned of the works of Pericles, were so much damaged by the explosion of a powder magazine, and are so completely blocked up with rubbish and encumbered by modern walls and towers, that their original design is no longer obvious, and the travellers and artists of the last century fell into some errors and confusion in their description of them. These however have been corrected by the more leisurely and more accurate observations of our contemporaries, and the plan of the building may now be considered as satisfactorily ascertained. A Doric portico of six columns surmounted by a pediment led into a vestibule, whose roof was supported by six Ionic columns, and which communicated again by five doors with another portico, also of the Doric order, facing the east, and open to the platform of the Acropolis. The entrance was flanked by two buildings advanced considerably beyond the line of its front, which from their position, and from the simplicity as well as the solidity of their construction, were evidently meant as defences. Much difference of opinion has existed as to these edifices:— that on the north of the portico was long supposed to be the temple of Victory-without-wings, but it seems more probable that it was the Pœcile or pic-

ture gallery, and that the temple of Victory was a small Ionic building noticed by the travellers of the seventeenth century but now destroyed; while that on the south, supposed to be the picture gallery, is found to have been nothing more than an open portico, and a side passage into the Acropolis.

To those who entered the Acropolis from the centre of the Doric portico, the Parthenon presented itself in perspective, and must have had a most picturesque effect: the modern approach on the south side of the Propylæum, is under present circumstances the most advantageous, as it brings the stranger directly upon the western front, which is by far the most perfect part of the building; and at a distance seems to have sustained little injury, except the loss of the cornice on the upper part of the pediment. The temple was what is called Octastyle, having eight columns in each front, and seventeen on the sides, in all forty-six. Its length was upwards of two hundred, its breadth upwards of one hundred, and its height upwards of sixty feet; and though these dimensions may appear small when compared with those of some modern buildings, yet the simplicity and unity of the design produce a grandeur of effect far beyond that of many larger edifices which are split and broken into a multitude of parts. At each end of the cell was a portico or pronaos of six columns, and the cell itself was divided into two unequal apartments. The eastern chamber, which was supported by sixteen

columns—of what order is uncertain, contained the famous statue of Minerva carved in gold and ivory: the western, which was the smallest, and had but six columns of support, was called the Opisthodomus, and was the treasury of the Athenians. On the two pediments were colossal groups, one representing the birth of Minerva, and the other the contest between that divinity and Neptune. The frieze of the portico was ornamented with ninety-two metopes, carved in high relief, and representing the conflicts of the Greeks with the Centaurs and Amazons, which seem to have been as favourite and fertile a source of subjects to the ancient sculptors, as the saints and martyrs were to the modern Italian painters. Just below the ceiling of the peristyle, a beautiful range of bas-reliefs, representing the procession at the Panathenaic festival, formed a continued frieze round the whole of the cella. Such was the Parthenon as it came from the hands of Phidias; and such, with almost less dilapidation than might have been expected from the operation of time alone, it remained for more than twenty centuries.

Paganism lingered long at Athens, and resigned at last her sacred edifices uninjured to a religion which was already strongly tinctured with kindred superstitions. As the hero St. George succeeded to the hero Theseus, so the Virgin Goddess was supplanted by the Virgin Mother, and the Parthenon became the church of the Panagia. The Turks converted it into a mosque, and it is to them pro-

bably that the bas-reliefs owe their present state of mutilation: but it is lamentable to think that its last and most deplorable ruin was reserved for a civilized and polite age, and a people renowned for their patronage of the arts. In 1676, when Sir George Wheler visited Athens, the Parthenon was nearly entire; the only dilapidation at least that he noticed, was that the statues had fallen from the eastern pediment; but in 1687 the Venetian Morosini, having conquered the Morea, made a wanton expedition into Attica, and laid siege to the Acropolis, during the progress of which, a powder magazine established by the Turks in the temple blew up, and totally destroyed the centre of the building. From that period the progress of decay became accelerated; and all that now remains is the western front, with the columns of the inner portico; the eastern front, with its frieze and architrave but with very small remains of the pediment; about twelve of the side columns of the peristyle; and the western end of the cella, with its frieze entire.—Whatever more of the frieze survived the explosion; the statues on the pediments; and all the metopes that remained on the south side of the temple, many of which were already tottering to their fall, were removed by Lord Elgin. The damage done to the building in that operation has been I believe greatly exaggerated: and after witnessing the events of the last few years, he must be strongly imbued with personal pique or national rancour who does not

rejoice that such precious remains are safely deposited in the British Museum.

To the northward of the Parthenon, and almost close to the brow of the rock, which in this part is very steep, stands the building called the Erectheum, which was composed of the united temples of Minerva Polias, and of Pandrosus, and contained the sacred olive and the salt spring, the supposed memorials of the contest between Neptune and Minerva. These have disappeared; but the temple, (which was built on the site of one more ancient,) remains a most beautiful specimen of Greek Ionic, and the model from which all modern buildings of that order have been taken. The volutes, the mouldings, the honeysuckles, and other ornaments, are cut in the marble with a sharpness of which even brass would scarcely be supposed capable. It has three porticos; one of six fluted columns facing the east, and another, with four columns in front and one on each side, facing the north; the third, which faces the south, was supported by six caryatids, two of which have been removed and their place supplied by brick piers, and the rest are cruelly mutilated. The northern portico was walled up and used as a powder magazine by the Turks, and this beautiful and curious structure was in daily jeopardy of sharing the fate of the Propylæum and the Parthenon*.

* I have spoken of all the ancient monuments at Athens as in the state in which they were when I saw them. There has not yet been published any precise account of the damage done to

The modern town was situated partly on the slope of the hill and partly on the plain, on the northern and north-western side of the Acropolis. It was surrounded by a wall flanked with towers, and inclosing a much larger area than was occupied by buildings. There were very few good houses, and the streets were narrow, but it was on the whole cleaner than Turkish or Greek towns generally are. The population was estimated at ten or twelve thousand, about a fifth part of whom were Turks; the rest were either Greeks or Albanians, the traders and artizans being chiefly of the former, and the agricultural labourers of the latter nation. Athens however was a place of but little trade except in oil; and the upper classes of the inhabitants, both Greeks and Turks, drew their revenue chiefly from their olive grounds, which were cultivated with great care, and subject, as in ancient times, to strict regulations. The town and neighbouring district since its conquest by Mahomet the Second, had been an appanage of the Sultan's harem, and was under the jurisdiction of the Kislar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, who appointed the Waywode or governor. Owing perhaps partly to this circumstance and partly to its remote situation, the Turkish yoke was felt less heavily there than in any other part of the empire, and a freedom of manners and of intercourse prevailed among the Rayah subjects, which I

them in the late sieges; but from what we have heard we may hope that it has been trifling.

scarcely recollect to have observed except in places where there was a numerous Frank population. The "genius loci" seemed to have had the effect of mitigating the ferocity of the Turks themselves, who were universally civil and well-behaved, had generally adopted the Greek language, and were many of them ignorant of their own. The Waywode and the Cadi seldom interfered, except when appealed to, in the affairs of the Greek population, who generally carried their disputes before the tribunal of their Archbishop; and the payment of the tribute, and other matters of internal regulation, were in the hands of Primates, by courtesy called Archons. This joint system of administration was supposed to be very corrupt; but it produced great order and tranquillity, and crimes or disturbances were seldom heard of.

A stranger, if not very fastidious, might find at Athens all the accommodations that he could desire: there was an hotel kept by an Italian, who had formerly been servant to an English gentleman, and several very comfortable private lodging-houses belonging to respectable Greek families; or if he preferred greater retirement or more classical associations, he might be received at the Capuchin convent, and might lay his pillow in the Lantern of Demosthenes. The necessaries and even the luxuries of life might be procured at a very moderate rate, and in tolerable abundance. Vegetables and fruit were brought in from the gardens of Patisia, a

neighbouring village; the bees of Hymettus furnished us with honey, and the vineyards of Zea with wine. Of meat and poultry there was no great variety, but their place was supplied by fish and game; and an epicure might excuse the monotony of a table at which red mullets and woodcocks were standing dishes.

The Franks residing at Athens were few in number, but almost all of them were persons of talent and information, artists chiefly, who having been led thither by professional pursuits had settled in this favoured spot, and employed themselves in excavating, in collecting antiquities, or in other occupations connected with the arts. The quarrels of these rival connoisseurs have occasionally afforded a theme of merriment*; but however much they might disagree among themselves, the only rivalship they exercised towards strangers, was how they could be most useful to them. M. Gropius, a Prussian, was possessed of much local information, which he always readily communicated; and in his capacity of banker he rendered still more substantial services. The museum of M. Fauvel the French consul was open to travellers of every nation, and he had always some ingenious and amusing remarks to make on the different objects which it contained. But the most frequent *cicerone* of the English was the well known Giambattista Lusieri, whose name has been mentioned in almost every recent book of travels in Greece.

* See Notes to Childe Harold, Canto 2.

He accompanied Lord Elgin from Italy as an artist, and was afterwards employed in superintending the removal of the marbles, and had his full share of the obloquy which that proceeding drew upon all who were concerned in it. After its completion he still remained in Athens, built a large house there in a very fine situation, and exercised great hospitality towards travellers till his pecuniary means became contracted either by some unfortunate speculations or by some disagreement with his patron. As a painter in water-colours he was of the very first class; the accuracy of his drawing, the delicacy of his finishing, aud the brilliancy of his colouring, were quite extraordinary. He was now employed on a large panoramic view of the plain of Attica, which he was labouring with the greatest exactness and diligence. Day after day did this indefatigable veteran pass on the hill of the Museum; and his meagre figure, his drawing apparatus, and the large umbrella over his head, are as much attached to the spot in the recollection of those who have visited Athens, as the monument of Philopappus itself. But he attempted an accuracy and minuteness of delineation which seemed hardly consistent with the mutable nature of the objects of landscape and the brevity of human life. Before one part of his outline was complete, the growth of trees or the alteration of buildings had made it necessary to erase another; and the sarcastic Fauvel, who was on bad terms with him, had some

ground for saying that "one half of his time was spent in drawing, and the other in rubbing out." I well recollect walking with him in his garden one fine spring evening, in company with another English gentleman, when we remonstrated with him on this procrastination, and hinted our apprehensions that in consequence of it he would not leave behind him so many finished performances as his admirers could wish. But he excused himself by saying that colouring was so fascinating an employment, that he feared if he once began it he should never again have patience to return to the dry details of outline; and that therefore (though he acknowledged himself to be in his seventy-fourth year, and had his portfolio crowded with sketches,) he reserved it as an amusement for his more advanced age. Two mornings afterwards he was found dead in the chair in which he had been left sitting the preceding evening, his supper remaining before him, like his drawings, unfinished. His death was much regretted, as he was both an useful and agreeable companion. He was strongly attached to the English nation; and a simple tablet over his tomb in the garden of the Capuchin convent, if it yet remains, bears an inscription purporting that it was placed there by the English at Athens, as a tribute to his talents and in grateful remembrance of his services.

Of occasional residents and of visitors at Athens there was a constant variety. English architects measuring and delineating the ancient monuments

with scrupulous exactness; French artists restoring them into shapes which would probably have startled the contemporaries of Phidias; and amateur travellers contented with simply admiring them: scholars studying the classics in this congenial retirement; and young officers from the garrison at Corfu, uniting the pursuits of the antiquary with the frolic of the barrack-room. In the course of the winter the Cambrian frigate anchored in the Piræus, bringing Lord Strangford with a numerous suite on their way to Constantinople; and during the fortnight that they remained the place wore the appearance of an English colony. The different characters thus assembled, being united by a common pursuit, lived (with a few exceptions) on terms of intimacy with each other, and formed a varied and amusing society, in which several of the native Greek families, who from their frequent intercourse with foreigners had become accustomed to Frank manners and usages, occasionally joined. The Athenian ladies had the reputation of being more lively and gay than their countrywomen in general, and some few of them could speak Italian with tolerable ease, and were not unskilled in European accomplishments. M^lle^ Rocque (the daughter of a Frenchman intermarried with a Greek) was much admired by those of her own nation; and a succession of English travellers have paid their homage to the attractions of the sisters Macri, better known perhaps as the Maids of Athens.

At the ordinary evening parties the amusements consisted in playing at Trianda-mia, in listening to a Greek song*, or in joining in some national *jeu de société*. But other entertainments were not wanting; balls were frequently given by the English travellers, as well as by M. Logotheti the English vice-consul, at which the dull Romaika was generally varied by a country-dance or a waltz, and the Carnival did not pass over without some attempts at a masquerade. A party of Indian jugglers who came out in the Cambrian exhibited their tricks to the astonished natives; and the midshipmen acted a comedy (not one of Menander's) on board the frigate in the Piræus.

But these gaieties were soon to cease, and Athens was destined to witness a very different scene. The existence of the society of Hetarists was well known there, and their projects had been dimly hinted at by some of the Frank residents who were admitted into their secrets. But the winter had passed away in tranquillity, and the public attention was entirely directed to Ali Pasha, who still maintained himself at Yannina; so that we were quite taken by surprise when we heard of Ypsilanti's irruption into the principalities, and of the execution of the Greek Patriarch at Constan-

* The Romaic language adapts itself extremely well to music, and I have heard Greek songs set to Italian airs with very good effect. The national airs, like all other Oriental music, are most harsh and nasal.

tinople, which was the signal for revolt to the whole nation.

The first information we received of the actual breaking out of hostilities in Greece, was from some officers who left Athens early in April, intending to return through the Morea to Corfu, and who sent us word that the whole of that district was up in arms, that Patras had been burnt, and that they had been obliged to go by sea from the Gulf of Salona. The English party at Athens was now much reduced in numbers, consisting only of Mr. Bartholomew Frere the late minister at Constantinople, Mr. Grey, and myself. Mr. Frere was confined to his bed by illness; and it would have been otherwise impossible for us to make our escape, as all the passes to western Greece and the Morea were so closely guarded, that even a courier whom we dispatched to Corfu, returned without being able to execute his mission; and in attempting a voyage round the Morea in one of the vessels of the country we should have run the risk of falling into the hands of the pirates, who took advantage of the general commotion to issue from the harbours of Maina. We had therefore no choice but to wait till chance should throw in our way some safe conveyance; and I was not sorry to have an opportunity of observing the progress of affairs at this critical moment, and of seeing something of war, however faint the image of it might be. Attica however remained for several weeks free from any attack,

except that now and then a party of κλεφται* descended from the mountains and drove off some flocks of sheep from the plain: but in consequence of the tranquillity to which the inhabitants of Athens had been so long accustomed, these trifling affairs created a great sensation. The Turks and their partizans at first affected to treat the insurrection with contempt, saying that it was only a temporary disturbance fomented by Ali Pasha as a diversion in his favour. The Greeks, though they did not venture to discover their sentiments openly, yet spoke of it among themselves as a well concerted system of revolt, and as the commencement of a new order of things. In the absence of all authentic information reports of every kind were circulated. Day after day was fixed for the arrival of the army of "Liberators;" but it was not till the end of April, three weeks after the first intelligence, that a party of guerillas established themselves at Menidi, a village near the foot of Mount Ægialus. The Turks then began to be seriously alarmed; they retired with their families and all their valuable effects into the Acropolis, taking with them the Greek primates as hostages; laid in a store of provisions, and made every preparation for a siege. In the day-time all was bustle and confusion; and the stillness of the night, so remarkable in a Turkish town, was broken by the cries of the guards, the shrieks of women, and the voice of the Imaum, who at midnight read

* Literally "Thieves."

the Koran in the temple of Minerva, while the people responded in loud shouts of "Allah el illah." This was an anxious moment for the Greek inhabitants, the majority of whom were very well satisfied with their present condition, lived on very good terms with their Turkish neighbours, and were very lukewarm in the cause of independence. They were all of too pacific a disposition to think of declaring themselves, unless sure of the immediate assistance of their more warlike brethren from the mountains; the Turkish magistrates, to whom they had used to look for the preservation of order and tranquillity, did not stir from the Acropolis; and they were in constant fear of some outrage from the Albanian soldiers of the garrison, who paraded the streets armed up to the teeth, and with threats and defiance in their looks. In the mean time, although from the hill of the Areopagus we could see the banners of the Cross waving at Menidi, which was only about eight miles distant, nothing was accurately known as to the force or the designs of the insurgents. It was still a joke with us to ask the Greeks "when the Pallikari* were coming," and it seemed still doubtful whether any serious attack was intended.

But on the morning of the 7th of May, just before day-break, I was aroused by the distant sound of straggling shots and shrill cries, which by degrees drew nearer and nearer, till at length a general

* The Greek name for Guerillas.

shout and a continued volley of musquetry announced that the enemy were under the walls of the town. In five minutes afterwards I saw rushing through the street, close under my window, a crowd of wild-looking b anditti, armed with weapons of every description, and cheered on by leaders many of whom had their priestly garb but slightly concealed by a more martial attire. The town had been occupied almost without resistance: the assailants were in number about twelve or fifteen hundred: the sentinels, strange to say, though they knew that the enemy was at hand, were killed sleeping on their posts; and the small Albanian garrison contented themselves with firing a few shots, and then retreated into the Acropolis.

A few old Turkish men and women, who had persisted in remaining in their houses when the rest of their countrymen had sought a place of safety, were made prisoners; but most of them were rescued by the prompt and firm interference of the Frank consuls, and but very few lives were lost. A constant firing was kept up for an hour or two after the place was taken, both by the captors and by the inhabitants, who were anxious to testify their zeal in the cause, and as much gunpowder was thus wasted as might have sufficed to batter the castle.

As soon as the tumult had in some degree subsided I walked out into the streets; and the first sign of war that I witnessed was a poor old black, to whom I had been daily in the habit of giving

a few paras as I passed by, but whom I now saw stretched dead at my feet. The mosques were all ransacked, and the Turkish houses given up to plunder; but almost every thing valuable had been already removed by the owners. In other respects the troops conducted themselves with perfect order and moderation. The bazars, which had been shut up for a fortnight, were opened, and supplies of every sort were eagerly contributed by the inhabitants, among whom a general sentiment of joy prevailed, at being at any rate liberated from the anxious state of suspense in which they had been kept so long. Many of them, encouraged by the presence of their formidable allies, were walking about armed cap-à-pied, and several of my acquaintance*, hitherto little distinguished by courage, but who had rather the reputation of preferring the pipe to the sword, were so metamorphosed by their martial equipments, that I scarcely recognized them, and neither party could refrain from laughing when we met.

The rest of the day was spent in allotting quarters and distributing rations to the soldiers, and was undisturbed, except by a few shots which the Turks occasionally fired from some small guns on the battlements, and which did no mischief. But in

* Among them I might particularize the Deacon Logotheti, brother to the English Consul and well known to all English travellers, who appeared with his pistols in his belt, a long gun in his hand, and a row of cartridges stuck round his forehead under the turban which he had wound round his clerical cap.

the evening a detachment of Albanians, who had been sent out as a corps of observation, showed themselves on the skirts of the olive wood where they had been concealed during the day-time, and made directly for the castle. The alarm was immediately given; and I soon saw from my window at least three hundred Pallikari collected round the temple of Theseus, which the Albanians must pass in their retreat. But whether they overrated the number of their antagonists, which did not exceed thirty or forty, or were daunted by the boldness which they displayed in facing a force so vastly superior, they made no attempt to intercept them except by a random fire. This handfull of men moved steadily on, leaving a few skirmishers in the rear, who threw themselves into the towers which flanked the town walls, and by occasionally firing through the loopholes diverted the attention of the Greeks till their comrades had secured their retreat. They then darted from their hiding-places and scampered up the hill after them as fast as they could, and the whole party succeeded in getting into the castle without losing a single man.

For several days afterwards the besieging army remained inactive: they talked very largely of their determination to storm the Acropolis; but it was quite evident that they had neither inclination to make the attempt nor means of rendering success even probable. The leisure which this cessation of hostilities occasioned, was employed in a search for

the Turks who were supposed to be concealed in different houses in the town. While this was going on, I one day chanced to wander into the Tower of the Winds, the interior of which having been converted into a mosque I had not before had an opportunity of seeing. It was now tenantless and dismantled, and the pavement covered with fragments of some beautiful Arabic manuscripts, which the Greeks in the fervour of their zeal had torn to pieces and destroyed. I sat down on a bench, and was meditating on the mutability of human affairs, of which the scene now before me afforded so striking an instance, when I was suddenly roused from my reverie by a gruff voice crying out "Ποιος εισι," "Who are you?" and turning round I saw at a window a most ferocious-looking Pallikari with a long gun, the muzzle of which was within a yard of my head. I started up, crying out lustily "Ιγγλεσος ειμι," "I am an Englishman." But he eyed my long beard and Turkish dress with manifest incredulity; and I observed that he kept his gun pointed towards me as I moved towards the door of the tower, where, among the crowd by this time collected, I found several Athenians who could attest my real character. The Pallikari bore the loss of his expected prisoner, and perhaps victim, with tolerable equanimity: but as I went away, he pointed to my beard, and said to me "Κοψε το," "Cut it off:" an advice which I complied with, though not without some reluctance, to prevent any similar

adventure, which might not have terminated so favourably.

About a week after the occupation of the town a vessel arrived in the Piræus from Hydra, bringing a cargo of ammunition and stores and some volunteers from the Seven Islands. A few nights after their arrival, the Turks, finding a scarcity of forage in the Acropolis and not liking to destroy their horses, turned them loose out of the gates, and the next morning they were taken possession of by the besiegers. The Hydriotes, partly with the view of striking terror into the enemy by their numbers and formidable appearance, and partly perhaps to gratify that fondness for equestrian display which characterizes sailors, determined on riding these animals in grand procession round the walls of the city; and as almost every other horse that could be mustered in the town was put in requisition on the occasion, a party was collected of perhaps more than a hundred. Mr. Frere and myself rode out to observe their operations, and posted ourselves in a ruined church near the banks of the Ilissus, from whence we had a full view of the southern side of the Acropolis. The Greeks marched in single files from the Piraic gate, and proceeded for some distance in safety under cover of the hills of the Pnyx and Lycabettus: but scarcely had the cavalcade emerged from behind the Museum and come in sight of our station, when a shot fired from the castle, with a better aim or a better destiny than was usual with

the Turks, carried off the head of the leader, an Hydriote of some distinction. An instant panic was the consequence: the horsemen dispersed themselves in every direction; some sought protection by entering the town at the nearest gate, and others I believe did not stop till they arrived at the Piræus*.

After this unlucky demonstration the Greeks directed their attention to some more effectual method of annoying their enemy; and for that purpose they constructed a battery near the monument of Philopappus, and mounted there some twelve-pounders which they brought up from the vessel in the harbour, with the intention of making a breach at the south-eastern angle of the Acropolis: but they were so little skilled in the art of gunnery that most of the balls flew over and fell on the opposite side of the town; and if now and then a stray shot hit its mark, the walls of Themistocles laughed to scorn the puny artillery of his descendants. They still however kept on firing; and the Turks in the meantime having mounted some of the large old guns which had long lain idle on the Propylæa, an almost incessant cannonade was kept up on both sides, but with scarcely any effect. I did not hear of a single person being killed or wounded, very little damage was done to the houses in the town;

* This story has already been told by Mr. Waddington (Visit to Greece, p. 48); but as an eye-witness I may be excused in repeating it.

and we became by degrees so accustomed to the whizzing of balls that they passed by us unregarded.

We began, however, to be heartily tired of our situation. It was obvious that the Greeks had no chance of taking the Acropolis but by the tedious process of blockade; and in the mean time intelligence arrived that Omar Vrione, one of the most formidable of the Mahometan champions, was marching with a strong force from Thessaly. This if true was a cause for real alarm; as should the Turkish cavalry appear on the plain, there was little doubt that the Pallikari would immediately retire to their strong holds in the mountains and leave their countrymen to their fate. We determined therefore at any rate to be prepared with the means of escape, and were on the point of sending to Hydra to engage a vessel, when on the 21st of May we heard to our great satisfaction that a brig of war under English colours was sailing up the Gulf. In the course of the day she came to an anchor in the harbour, and proved to be the Chanticleer, commanded by the late Earl of Huntingdon, who had come from Corfu to bring off Mr. Frere, and who very obligingly offered me a passage. Mr. Grey had already gone on board a French ship to Smyrna. Our departure was the signal of departure also to M. Logotheti, the English consul, and several Athenian families who had considered them-

selves under protection so long as the English "Elchi" or minister remained among them; and who dreading, not without reason, the consequences of a Turkish invasion*, had determined now to abandon their property and their homes. On the evening of the 22d of May when we went down to the Piræus, we found the convent of St. Spiridion crowded with these fugitives, preparing to embark on board some small vessels which were waiting to carry them to their several destinations; and the satisfaction that we felt in the prospect of being safely conveyed to an English port, was damped by the thought that so many persons whom we had known under far other circumstances were now flying to places of exile and destitution.

On the morning of the 23d of May we set sail. The winds were so light and baffling that it took us a week to coast round the Morea; but the beauty of the weather and of the scenery, and the great hospitality and politeness of our commander, prevented the voyage from appearing at all tedious. On the 29th we passed through the Greek fleet which was cruising off Navarino, and on the following day we landed at Zante, at which point, having finally taken leave of the Turkish dominions, I will close my narrative.

* Omar Vrione arrived in Attica and raised the siege of Athens in the following July, and his stay there was marked by bloodshed and devastation.

It is usual for writers of travels to conclude with a panegyric on their own country, and I have no wish to depart from so patriotic a custom.—An Englishman who makes the tour which I did, can hardly fail to return strengthened in the proud conviction, that without civil liberty and equal laws no nation can be permanently great or flourishing; although as a friend to mankind he may be glad at the same time to have learned that a fertile soil, a genial climate, and a bright sunshine, may produce much individual happiness even in those countries where Trial by Jury is unknown and the writ of Habeas Corpus runneth not.

THE END.

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